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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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FIFTH SERIES—VOL. VIII



737.05
N.C.

Factum abilit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

LONDON:
BERNARD QUARITCH, 11 GRAFTON ST., W. 1

PARIS:
MM. ROLLIN ET FEUARDENT, PLACE LOUVOIS, No. 4
1928

*Printed in Great Britain at the
UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
By John Johnson
Printer to the University*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(separately paged).LIST OF FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC
SOCIETY (separately paged).

I.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1927.

[SEE PLATES I, II.]

THE present report follows the customary lines, and I am as usual indebted to Mr. Stanley Robinson for a number of valuable suggestions.

1. *Thurium*.

Obv.—Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet, the bowl adorned with Scylla, her r. hand drawn back to hurl a stone.

Rev.—[Θ]ΟΥΡΙΩΝ above. Bull butting r., head to front; plain exergual line; in exergue, horn of Achelous between Η PA Concave field.

Æ 30 × 26 mm. Wt. 15.73 grm. (242.8 grs.).

Formerly in the collection of Mr. W. H. Woodward.
From Egger Sale, XLV, lot 185.

The latest group in the series of Thurian tetradrachms seems to be that in which the magistrate's name in the exergue is divided by a symbol. The magistrates represented are two: Euphr... and Hera... They are characterized by a straight-nosed, rather sulky Athena, and the style is easily recognizable. I note the following varieties (without pretending in any way to completeness). The capital letter represents the obverse die, the small one the reverse. It will be seen that the obverse die A is common to both magistrates.

- A. Griffin on helmet; ear-ring and necklace; behind neck \sqcap .

Rev. (a)—Plain exergual line. Gorgoneion on aegis, between **EY Φ P**

- (1) B.M. ex Montagu Sale, II. 25.

Rev. (b)—Plain exergual line. Laurel-branch between **HP AK**

- (1) Hunter, 28. (2) Naville Sale, VI. 231.

- B. Similar to A.

Rev. (c)—Plain exergual line. Lion's head r. between **H PA**

- (1) B.M. 47 (ex Thomas, 1844, II. 121). Plated. (2) Luyves 584. Plated.

- C. Similar to A, but without letter behind neck.

Rev. (d)—Similar to (a).

- (1) B.M. No. 46, ex Blacas.

- D. Scylla hurling a stone on helmet; ear-ring and necklace.

Rev. (e)—Dotted exergual line. Owl flying, carrying wreath, between **EY Φ P**

- (1) B.M. No. 37. (2) Hunter 24.

- E. As D, but no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev. (f)—Similar to (e).

- (1) Hunter 25. (2) H. Weber 884, ex Evans 18. Naville Sale, IV. 106.

Rev. (g)—Plain exergual line. Horn of Achelous between **H PA**

- (1) Hunter 26. (2) McClean 1268, ex Hartwig 277.

- F. Similar to E, but traces of ear-ring.

Rev. (h)—Similar to (g).

- (1) B.M. (No. 1 above).

- G. Similar to F, but no trace of ear-ring.

Rev. (i)—Plain exergual line. Torch (?), between **A ?** and **Η**

- (1) B.M., ex Weber 885, ex S. W. H. 1882, No. 27.

The close resemblance in style of obverse G to obverse F, and the monogram of **HP**, suggest that we should supply **A** to the left of the symbol.

Certain issues of didrachms were made by the same magistrates:

Corresponding to C (d). Luynes 605. McClean 1312.

Corresponding to D (e). Warren 116 (= Bunbury 175).

Corresponding to D (e) (but Scylla has r. hand lowered).
Sambon Sale, 27 vi. 1927, 402.

Corresponding to D (e) (but **K** behind head). Naville
Sale, V. 570.

Corresponding to E (f) (but **EY** behind head). Egger
Sale, 10 xii. 1906, 26.

There are also sixths, of which I may mention those of Euphr . . . with the owl (B.M.C. 108, cp. 114; McClean 1338-1343) and with the aegis (B.M.C. 118). As to other coins of Hera . . . and Euphr . . . and how far they are to be connected with this group I will not attempt at present to decide, saying only that the tetradrachms with **HPA** above the bull and a fish in the exergue (Jameson 368, Luynes 583) seem to be of better style, and perhaps mark the transition to our group; while the didrachm with Nike crowning the bull, a bird and **EYΦP** below him, and **ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ** in the exergue (McClean 1311), is of late style (cp. with the reverse, B.M.C. 96, **ΦPY**), and may be an exceptional issue of the Euphr. of our group.

Gela.

2. *Obv.*—Head of horse r.

Rev.—**CE**. Two pellets. Concave field.

Æ ← 6.5 mm. Wt. 0.08 gm. (1.3 grs.). From Dean
Burgon's Collection.

3. *Obv.*—Head of bridled horse r.

Rev.—Two pellets. Concave field.

Æ 6.5 mm. Wt. 0.08 gm. (1.3 grs.). From Col. Massy's
Collection, ex Montagu.

Of these two hexantes the first resembles the engraving in Salinas, Pl. XXIV. 7. With the second compare his Pl. XXIV. 6 (head to l. in border of dots; the pellets enclosed in a linear circle). Our specimen does not seem to have the border of dots; what at first sight looks like it is, I think, merely the ridge raised by the pressure of the edge of the reverse die through the flan.

4. *Syracuse.*

Obv.—Four-horse chariot l., Nike flying r. to crown charioteer, the whole placed on basis; along the plinth are ranged on ledges shield, cuirass and pair of greaves, and helmet; below, under lower shelf, ΑΘΛΑ; border of dots.

Rev.—Head of Arethusa l., wearing hair in net, ampyx inscribed ΚΙ, single-drop ear-ring, and necklace, surrounded by four dolphins; inscr. ΞΥΡΑ ΚΟΞΙ ΩΝ; border of dots; traces of incuse circle.

AR → 37.0 mm. Wt. 43.34 grm. (668.8 grs.).

Formerly in the Robert Allatini Collection (deposited on permanent loan by his widow). Ex Virzi: Hirsch, XXXII, 309.

A magnificent specimen of Regling's No. 7 ("Dekadrachmen des Kimon von Syrakus" in *Amtliche Berichte*, XXXVI, 1914, p. 10).

5. *Olbia. Pharzoius.*

Obv.—Head r., with moustache, beardless, diademed.

Rev.—[BA]ΣΙΑΕΩ[Σ] above, [Φ]ΑΡΖΟΙΟ[Y] below. Eagle standing r., beating wings; in field r. ΟΑ above [Ω]. In oval countermark, dolphin l.; another punch-mark(?) on eagle's right wing.

N ↓ 18 mm. Wt. 7.64 grm. (117.9 grs.). From the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich.

Specimens of the coinage of this king have been made known by, among many others, Burachkoff, *Coins of the Greek Colonies*, &c., pp. 77 ff., Pl. IX, Nos. 208-213; Pick, *Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, I, Pl. XII. 6-8; Oreshnikov, "On Coins of Scythian Rulers with the name of the City of Olbia" in *T.R.A.S.*, IV, p. 10 of reprint, Pl. II. 9; cp. his *Eccursions*, Moscow, 1914, p. 21; and, last of all, by Severeanu in *Buletinul Soc. Num. Române*, XIX, 1924, p. 7. The date is matter of great uncertainty. It has been put as early as 160 B.C.; Oreshnikov prefers the first century of our era; and Minns (*Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 467, 487) inclines to the later date, assigning the coins of Phariozoius and Inensimeus to the period of recovery after the sack of Olbia by the Getae, which took place between 67 and 50 B.C. He supposes (p. 469) that Rome helped the Olbians to shake off the power of these kings; the dedication (in the early years of Tiberius) of a portico to Augustus, Tiberius, and the People indicates gratitude or expectation on the part of Olbia. The last half of the first century B.C. would then be the period of the coins. Some of them are so barbarous and confused that it seems difficult to assign all to the same king; but the ordinary rules of attribution hardly apply in the case of Olbia, where similar types frequently occur on coins of extraordinarily different style.

6. *Thrace. Mesembria.*

Obv.—Helmet to front, with transverse crest.

Rev.—Radiate four-spoked wheel; between the spokes, Μ Ε Ξ, and a beardless male head l. Incuse circle.

Æ 16.0 mm. Wt. 2.81 grm. (43.4 grs.). From the Lederer Collection.

The small male head on the reverse of this "Asiatic" tetrobol, like the male head in a helmet on later coins, perhaps represents the founder Menas or Melsas. This piece appears to date from the end of the fifth century. On the transverse representation of the crest, see *Num. Chron.*, 1924, p. 11.

The writing of the name with the ordinary sigma is exceptional at this early period; but probably the hemiobol, B.M.C., No. 4, with ΜΕΞ followed by a swastika, is contemporary with the new coin.

7. *Macedon. Amphipolis.*

Obv.—Head of Apollo facing, slightly inclined to l., laureate; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΜΦ/ΙΠΟ/ΛΙΤ/ΕΩΝ on four sides of a quadrangular band, within which race torch, flame blown to l. Slight incuse square.

R ↑ 26 mm. Wt. 14.27 grm. (220.2 grs.). From the Robert Allatini Collection. Deposited by his widow on permanent loan.




An exceptionally fine specimen, from the same dies as B.M.C., No. 6 (which is very poor); same reverse die as B.M.C., Nos. 5 (also very poor) and 4, and Bunbury 661 = Benson 413 = Jameson 933. These (like the tetradrachm, *Num. Chron.*, 1889, Pl. XII. 3 = *Z. f. N.*, 33, Pl. II. 10) all belong to Regling's first group,¹ in which the frame bearing the inscription is flat, not sloped as in the later group. This earlier group also shows the obverse head slightly inclined to the spectator's left; on the coins of the later group it is slightly inclined to the right.

¹ *Zeit. für Num.*, 33, p. 56, note 4.

Macedon. Alexander the Great.







Twenty-nine gold staters from the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich. Presented for the most part by Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian. Of these, the following may be described here. They are of the usual types; all have the serpent on the helmet, and unless otherwise described, the inscription is **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** downwards on the r. I note only other differentiae:

8. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l., aphlaston. ↑ 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.51 grm. (131.3 grs.). Anonymous donation.
9. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—**ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** on l.; in field r., double-axe, and below **Π**. ↑ 17.5 mm. Wt. 8.53 grm. (131.7 grs.). Presented by Mr. Robert J. Eidlitz of New York.
10. *Obv.*—Hair in formal curls. *Rev.*—In field l. thunderbolt (horizontal) above **Σ**. ↘ 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.60 grm. (132.7 grs.). Presented by Mr. Archer M. Huntington of New York. Same obverse die as Egger XXXIX. 264.
11. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l., filleted thyrsus. ↑ 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.55 grm. (132.0 grs.). Presented by Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian. From the same dies as Pozzi 869 and Merzbacher 15 xi. 1910, 388. Cp. the drachms, Müller 662, 663.
12. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l. **ME** and, below, griffin's head and neck r. ↑ 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.51 grm. (131.4 grs.). Presented (with the four following) by Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian.
13. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l. two foreparts of horses addorsed and, below, **Δ**. ↘ 20.0 mm. Wt. 7.57 grm. (116.8 grs.). Late and bad style, and pale colour. Apparently a later imitation of one of the group Müller 394–395 (Perinthus). Not illustrated.

14. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l. forepart of lion l.,  and bull's head facing. \uparrow 19.5 mm. Wt. 8.51 grm. (131.3 grs.). Cp. Hirsch XXVI, No. 137 (different monogram).
15. *Obv.*—Hair in three curls. *Rev.*—In field l., ram's head facing. \downarrow 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.53 grm. (131.7 grs.). The Museum also possesses (bought from Lang in 1872) another stater from the same dies, but on the reverse die there has been added the monogram  (cp. Müller 299 and 304). Another specimen from the same dies was in Hirsch XXXI, 269.
16. *Obv.*—Hair in formal curls. *Rev.*—In field l., below, ram's head l. \uparrow 19.0 mm. Wt. 8.51 grm. (131.3 grs.).
17. *Obv.*—Free hair. High relief. *Rev.*— $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Xi$ on l. downwards, $\text{A}\Lambda\text{E}\Xi\text{A}\text{N}\Delta\text{P}\text{OY}$ on r. downwards; in field l. below, . \uparrow 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.47 grm. (130.7 grs.). Anonymous donation.
18. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l., below, K in wreath. \uparrow 19.0 mm. Wt. 8.45 grm. (130.4 grs.). Presented by Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian.
19. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l., Y and, below, A . \uparrow 20.0 mm. Wt. 8.57 grm. (132.2 grs.). Anonymous donation. Same dies as R. Godart Sale 1923, No. 2. Cp. the drachm, Müller 783. The same obverse die was used later (when it had developed a crack across the front edges of the two crests) to strike specimens of Müller 553, which has the same lower monogram.
20. *Obv.*—Free hair. *Rev.*—In field l. K , r. below A . \uparrow 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.43 grm. (130.1 grs.). Presented by Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian.

Lysimachus, King of Thrace.

Seven gold staters from the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander, presented by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, of New York. Usual types.

21. In field l., horn outside inscription,  inside. ↑ 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.51 grm. (131.3 grs.). This is Müller, No. 99; from the same obverse die as another with  and  (cp. Egger XLI. 289; XLV. 457; and Hess 15 x. 1903, 193). All are of Byzantium.
22. In field l., inside inscription, amphora; on seat bucranium with fillets hanging from horns. ↑ 19.5 mm. Wt. 8.55 grm. (132.0 grs.).
23. In field l., inside inscription, caduceus. Possibly something in exergue. → 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.53 grm. (131.7 grs.).
24. In field l., inside inscription, long torch. ↑ 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.50 grm. (131.2 grs.).
25. In field l. . ↑ 18.5 mm. Wt. 8.50 grm. (131.1 grs.). Same dies as Duchastel, Montagu (I. 293) = Bain (14), and Hess 15, x. 1903, 202.
26. In field l. . ↑ 20.0 mm. Wt. 8.44 grm. (130.2 grs.).
27. In field l. . ↑ 18.0 mm. Wt. 8.46 grm. (130.5 grs.).
28. *Cephalonia. Cranium.*

Obv.—Turreted female head r.; monogram behind off the flan.

Rev.—Obelisk with cap on base; across field, CPRO
CVL | L.F Incuse circle.

Æ ↑ 14.0 mm. Wt. 2.27 grm. (35.1 grs.).

Two other specimens only of this coin seem to be known, having been described by Bahrfeldt.²

29. *Crete. Orion.*

Obv.—Bee.

Rev.—Dolphin r.; below, OP. Concave field.

AR ↑ 11.0 mm. Wt. 0.70 grm. (10.8 grs.). From the

² *Journ. Intern.* xi, 1908, p. 224; cp. Grueber, B.M.C., *Roman Republican Coins*, ii, p. 534

Massy Collection, ex. Montagu II. 473 ("Pordosilene ?"). Cp. Svoronos, *Προσθήκαι* ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889), p. 206, No. 44, Pl. 12. 19.

Cyzicus.

30. *Obv.*—Ξ above, Υ on r. above, Ν in exergue. Infant Heracles kneeling to r., wrestling with two serpents; he wears crepundia consisting of crescent-shaped pendants. Plain exergual line and border.

Rev.—ΚΥ on l. above; ΙΙ on r. Lion's head l., placed on tunny l. Incuse circle.

AR ∇ 22.5 mm. Wt. 11.39 grm. (175.7 grs.).

The number of mints which issued the remarkable series of coins with the infant Heracles strangling the serpents and the inscription *Συνμαχικόν* on the obverse, and their own types and abbreviated names on the reverse, is now increased by one. Cyzicus now ranges itself beside Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Iasus, Rhodes, and Byzantium. The fullest treatment of the subject still remains Regling's article of 1906.³ In there publishing for the first time the unique specimen of Byzantium, he maintains that the league of which these coins prove the existence cannot have altogether broken up in 390, when Ephesus, Samos, and Cnidus, which had fallen away after Conon's victory in 394, returned to the Spartan side; for Byzantium had remained under Spartan denomination until the middle of 389. It must have lasted at least till then, perhaps until the winter of 387/6, when the peace of Antalcidas deprived such a league of all meaning. Regling's view may perhaps be adopted in a slightly modified

³ *Zeitschr. für Numiz.* xxv, 1906, pp. 207-214. Cp. my *Hist. Greek Coins*, 1906, pp. 62-66.

form. The league, of which Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Iasus, and Rhodes were members, must have actually collapsed in 390; but what happened was that it was revived next year under the influence of Thrasybulus in the Hellespontine district. Probably the league had not hitherto extended so far north; the Spartan influence over Byzantium would have been strong enough to make Cyzicus and other neighbouring cities shy of joining such an organization. Cyzicus was certainly sympathetic to Sparta after Aegospotami, and it was probably in 405 that the Soteira series, with which this coin is connected by its reverse, began.⁴ When, however, Thrasybulus arrived on the scene, Cyzicus would naturally become with Byzantium a party to a revival of the league; and it would be easy to mention other cities in the same district which one would expect to find associated with them.

In the treatment of the infant Heracles the new coin seems nearer to the Byzantine than to any others. The details are beautifully preserved. The use of crescents as crepundia is, of course, due to their prophylactic significance.⁵

31. *Coin-die*. The die of the obverse of a Cyzicene silver coin (forepart of boar l., with tunny upright behind it). Formerly in the Pozzi Collection. Irregular cylinder of bronze, 18 × 17 mm. in diameter, 9 mm. high.

The coin for which this die was used was not, as was at first supposed, a hekte, of which no specimens have

⁴ H. v. Fritze in *Nomisma*, ix, 1914, p. 44.

⁵ Hesych, s. v. *σεληνία*, and other references in Jabn, "Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks", in *Ber. dtsch. Ges.*, 1855, p. 42.

survived, but one of the small silver coins of von Fritze's Group II.⁶ It is difficult, in the corroded state of the die, to be sure of the style, and even of the denomination. The illustration in Pl. II. is from a plaster impression.

An analysis by Dr. H. J. Plenderleith of drillings (to the amount of 0.1138 grain) made free from corroded metal gives:

Copper	81.75	per cent.
Tin	18.67	" "
	<u>100.42</u>	

The specimen is described as being very hard and rather difficult to bore. The proportion of tin to copper in the well-known die from Tel-el-Athrib is 22.51 to 69.85; no other metals were traceable, and the remaining 7.44 per cent. is supposed to have been oxygen.⁷

Rhodes.

32. *Obv.*—Head of Rhodes r., wearing radiate stephane, ear-ring, and necklace.

Rev.—P O. Rose with bud on l.; aphlastonon r.;
+ above ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ All in circle of dots.

N ↑ 12.5 mm. Wt. 2.05 grm. (31.7 grs.).

A quarter stater of Head's period 189-166 B.C. (B.M.C., *Caria*, p. 251 f.), with a magistrate's name which appears not to have been hitherto recorded for Rhodes.

33. *Obv.*—Head of young Dionysos, l., radiate and wearing ivy-wreath.

Rev.—Nike, holding out wreath in r., palm in l., stand-

	ΡΟΔΙ	ΕΠΙ
ing l. on rose; in field l. and r.	ΩΝ	ΚΡΑ
	ΕΠΙ	ΤΕΥΣ

Border of dots.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Pl. V. 10-25.


⁷ Svoronos in *Coroll. Num.*, pp. 285-295. *Cp. Num. Chron.*, 1922, p. 14.

Æ † 33 mm. Wt. 25 grm. (886 grs.). Formerly in the collection of Dean Burgon. Not illustrated.

Another Rhodian coin of this group (Head's period, *circ.* 43 B.C.—A.D. 96, B.M.C., pp. 263 f.) acquired in recent years, bears the magistrate's name ΕΠΙΔΙΟΔΩ (Nike r. with wreath and palm, on rose?); this, like the one just acquired, is not recorded by Münsterberg.

Lycia.


34. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l. Border of dots.

Rev.— Ε. Fish to l. Pearled border. Deep concave field.

AR → 8.5 mm. Wt. 0.25 grm. (3.8 grs.).

The reading is very uncertain, only the first, second, and fourth letters being at all clear. Possibly *Arathi*.

35. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet.

Rev.—Head of bearded man l., in satrapal head-dress, laureate; behind, above, ; in front, traces of inscription. Incuse square.

AR ↓ 16.0 mm. Wt. 4.06 grm. (62.7 grs.).

Comparison of this drachm with the Paris stater (*Traité* II, ii. 344, Pl. XCIX. 2) makes it probable that the inscription, of which the bottoms of the last three letters are discernible, is to be read Khār_oi.

36. *Obv.*—Dolphin swimming l., over fish r.

Rev.—Lion's mask facing.

Æ ↓ 9.0 mm. Wt. 0.83 grm. (12.8 grs.). From the Massy Collection. Said to have been found in Syria.

37. *Obv.*—Lion's mask facing. Border of dots.

Rev.—Dolphin l. Border of dots. Field slightly concave.

Æ † 10.0 mm. Wt. 1.08 grm. (16.6 grs.). From southwest Asia Minor.

These two coins are rather different in style, the lion's mask on the second being in higher relief. In spite of its being found in Syria, the types of Col. Massy's coin are so characteristically Lycian that there can be little doubt of the attribution. (Cp. the lion's mask on B.M.C., No. 141.)

38. *Cyprus. Uncertain Mint.*

Obv.—Lion's head r., jaws open.

Rev.—Gorgoneion, in incuse square.

A ↓ 22.0 mm. Wt. 9.91 grm. (153.0 grs.).

Acquired with coins of Salamis and Side.

This appears to belong to the same series as the staters with the Cypriote inscription $\beta\alpha. A.$,^{*} but, being uninscribed, probably precedes them in date. On Cypriote lion's head coins with a typeless incuse reverse, see Dressel-Ragling in *Zeit. für Num.*, 37, p. 78; whether any of these, or the stater from the Philippsen Sale, 2822 (now in the British Museum), are from the same mint as the Gorgoneion coins must remain for the present undecided.⁹

Alexandrine Empire of the East.

39. *Obv.*—The Great King in kneeling-running attitude r., wearing kidaris and kandys, holding in l. bow, in r. apple-budded spear; quiver behind shoulder; behind, ΛY ; in front M . Plain exergual line.

Rev.—Incuse filled with wavy lines.

A 17.5 mm. Wt. 16.65 grm. (257.0 grs.).

^{*} B.M.C., *Cyprus*, Pl. XIII. 3; *Traité* II. i. 965, 966.

⁹ With the last-mentioned stater I would place a small coin of similar type, weighing 15.8 grs., in the British Museum, from the Jelajian collection.

Corresponds to the daric at Paris (Babelon, *P. A.*, No. 120; B.M.C., *Arabia*, &c., p. cxlvii, No. 6), and to the lion-tetradrachms, B.M.C., p. 185, Nos. 24 f.

40. *Obv.*—Similar type; front part of design off the flan: behind ΔΙ above ΠΑ.

Rev.—Similar to preceding.

Æ 20 mm. Wt. 16.56 grm. (255.5 grs.).

41. *Bellaïos and his Queen.*

Obv.—Heads jugate r. of a king, bearded (?), and a queen, both diademed.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] | ΒΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ above and ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ below the prow of a vessel to r.; on l., uncertain symbol.

Æ 16.5 mm. Wt. 3.89 grm. (60 grs.) Strongly bevelled edge.

The strongly bevelled edge recalls Seleucid influence. A Mesopotamian source seems hardly likely in view of the maritime type of the reverse. The coin is reproduced here in the hope that some one else may be able to throw light on it.

G. F. HILL.

II.

THE PENNIES AND HALFPENNIES OF 1344-51.

[SEE PLATES III-V.]

THOSE who have followed the papers contributed to the *British Numismatic Journal* by my brother, H. B. Earle Fox, and myself, dealing with the coinages of Edward I, II, and III, will remember that we had in 1914 brought our studies down to the end of the first heavy issues of Edward III (pennies of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains), a period which ended in 1343. It was always our ambition to carry on the paper together until the end of the reign, but the outbreak of war and subsequent death of my brother brought our joint work to a close. Mr. L. A. Lawrence then offered to associate himself with me, and I hoped eventually with his collaboration to complete the history of the coinage from 1351 to 1377. Circumstances made it impossible for me to devote to it the time required, and although I have kept closely in touch with his work, Mr. Lawrence has had to do a great deal of it unaided. His realization of the fact that at this time the authorities ordered a mark to be placed upon the coins to enable them to be recognized at the quarterly trials of the pyx has rendered the task much more arduous and complicated than it first appeared, and has increased his labours enormously. The first result of them is his paper on the coinage of 1351-60, which has recently appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and those who have studied it will realize the immense amount of

patient research it required. There remains meanwhile the period from 1343 to 1351 to be dealt with, and this I propose to undertake myself in consultation with Mr. Lawrence, whose assistance and encouragement have been invaluable. The coins of 1351-60 and subsequent issues reveal a complicated system of privy marks which should eventually enable us to place most of them to their proper three-monthly periods, but the pennies of 1344-51 unfortunately do not provide such well-defined differences as are to be found on many of the later coins. The so-called florin pennies were correctly attributed to Edward III in 1851 by Sainthill, and by Sir Arthur Evans in 1871, but no serious effort has hitherto been made to divide them into classes or place them in their order of issue.

Before going further it may be well to give a short account of the circumstances which prompted the great recoinage of 1344.

The period extending from January 1344 to June 1351 was one of transition and experiment. During the first seventeen years of the reign of Edward III the coinage, as has been shown in the preceding chapters of these studies, had been much neglected. The total output of pennies from the two permanent Royal mints—London and Canterbury—in all that time had amounted to little more than 1,200 lb., and no coin of a larger denomination had been struck since the few groats in the early years of Edward I.

From Michaelmas 1335 onward there had indeed been a considerable issue of halfpennies and farthings to meet the needs of the people, but these were more or less unpopular because they were made of inferior

metal, and for large transactions the merchants were dependent on the moneys of the king's father and grandfather, for the most part somewhat worn, and in quantity wholly insufficient.

By the end of 1343 the matter had become urgent, and in December of that year it was decided that "in order to have a greater plenty of money in the realm than has been hitherto, the moneys of gold and silver shall be made in the realm itself in such manner as shall seem to our Lord the King advisable and to his Council most profitable for his people".

Thus the initial step was taken, but there were many difficulties ahead. England had practically never had a gold currency—for the rare "gold pennies" of Henry III cannot have played a considerable part in the circulating medium—and the difficulty of adjusting the relative values of the two precious metals was great. When these obstacles had been more or less overcome the terrible pestilence known as the Black Death swept the country (1348-9), causing general disorganization, and it was not until midsummer 1351 that a plentiful coinage, both of gold and silver, was finally established on a basis which was destined to remain unchanged for years.

The gold coins struck during this tentative period, which lasted for a little over seven years and consisted of three distinct coinages, can be assigned without doubt to their respective indentures. They consisted of:

- (1) The gold florin and its parts (January 1344).
- (2) The first noble and its parts (136.7 grains) (July 1344) (the half is yet to seek!).
- (3) The second noble and its parts (128.6 grains) (July 1346).

They are all of considerable rarity, and the examples surviving of the first two issues do not amount to much more than a dozen in all.

As they have been carefully described elsewhere, I propose in this paper to deal only with the silver coinage.

Below is a complete record of the silver coins struck at London and Canterbury between Jan. 1344 and June 1351.¹ Pennies were also struck at Durham, Reading, and York, but of these no mint accounts have yet been discovered, neither is anything known about the two varieties of halfpenny which were struck at Reading.

It will be seen that of this huge output of over £60,000 of London pennies no less than £55,000 was struck between January 1344 and June 1345; while at Canterbury the whole amount coined was the comparatively trifling sum of a little over £2,000. It will also be noted that the issue of halfpennies did not begin until the bulk of the pennies had been struck, and that therefore no exact resemblance is to be expected between the two denominations.

The weight of the pennies was determined by the following indentures:

- (1) That with Kirkyn and Nicholyn in
December 1343 for pennies of . . . 22 grains.
- (2) That with P. de Porche in July
1344 for pennies of . . . 20.3 grains.
- (3) That with Nicholyn and Kirkyn in
July 1346 for pennies of . . . 20 grains.

¹ See Crump and Johnson in *Num. Chron.*, 1918, pp. 200 ff.

SILVER COINS STRUCK AT LONDON AND CANTERBURY
BETWEEN JAN. 1344 AND JUNE 1351.

Date.	Pennies.		Half-pennies.	Farthings.
	London.	Canterbury.		
	£	£	£	£
Jan. 1344 to July 1344	20,919			
July 1344 to Sept. 1344	12,257			
Sept. 1344 to June 1345	22,336	1,716		
June 1345 to Sept. 1345	1,790			
Sept. 1345 to July 1346	3,846	...	1,596	431
July 1346 to Sept. 1346	662	212	191	156
Sept. 1346 to Nov. 1346	445	94	281	70
Nov. 1346 to Sept. 1347	785	...	2,221	295
Sept. 1347 to May 1348	1,360	...	2,991	151
May 1348 to Sept. 1348	...	...	2,752	64
Sept. 1348 to Jan. 1349	...	...	1,616	20
Jan. 1349 to June 1349	...	...	2,075	69
June 1349 to April 1350	47	...	4,184	3
April 1350 to Sept. 1350	...	...	4,125	3
Sept. 1350 to Jan. 1351	...	...	2,446	
Jan. 1351 to June 1351	...	...	4,290	26

So far as the issue of pennies is concerned, with the exception of £47 in 1349-50, these contracts cover not quite four and a half years, and include all the pennies issued at London and Canterbury before the reduction in weight in 1351.

Before describing the coins in detail it will be best to give a brief summary of those which exist.

The London pennies can be conveniently divided into two main groups. One consisting of what may be described as "normal" coins, the other comprising a scarce variety reading **REX** in full, which is quite different in style and lettering from the normal coins, and a few rare specimens of unusual work from what may be called "special dies". These last are all more or less associated in various ways with the "**REX**" type. The normal coins, which are more advanced in style than any of their predecessors both as regards bust and lettering, are all of one general type. They all read on the obverse either **EDW** or **EDWƆ, R ƆNGL DNS hVB**. Three different forms of **N** are found: Lombardic (**N**), Roman (**N**), or Roman reversed (**И**). The first two always have annulet stops between the words, the last never. On a very few specimens a double-barred reversed **И** occurs, but so rarely on an obverse that it can hardly constitute a separate class. The reverse consists of the usual cross and pellets, which had been the invariable type since 1279. The inscription is always **CIVITAS LONDON**, but all four forms of **N** occur. The double-barred variety is, however, very rare. Pennies are also known of Canterbury, Reading, York, and Durham. All those of Reading and York, and most of those of Canterbury, have the same obverse, namely, that with the reversed **И** and no stops, but a few coins are known of the last-named mint reading **EDWƆ**, and having annulet stops. The Durham coins, with the exception of one variety having the obverse just mentioned and no special marks on the reverse, all vary slightly from those of London as

regards the obverse legend, which is **EDWARRRNRG-DNSHYB** (**EDWARR**; and **NRG** for **NRGU**). These nearly all have a crozier, or a pellet in the centre of the cross on the reverse. There is in addition a remarkable Durham penny reading **EDWARDVS REX NIN**, which differs entirely from all others in the series both as regards bust and lettering.

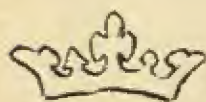
Before going further reference must be made to the question of privy marks, which enabled the pyx jurors to recognize a coin as belonging to a particular quarterly period. Although differences in bust, hair, crown, expression of face, &c., are fairly pronounced when a number of coins are placed together, clearly some more distinct and definable difference must have been required to render it of any practical use. As no particular "marks" in the ordinary sense are discernible on the coins, some other means of discrimination must be sought, and this is probably to be found in the form of the letter **N**, which, as has been stated, is known of four different forms. The spelling of the king's name, **EDW** or **EDWARR**, is another definite variation, and also the presence or absence of stops.

What we do not know is whether the so-called "mark", which enabled the authorities to recognize and assign a coin to its proper issue, was to be found on the obverse or the reverse, or possibly on both. From the remarkable way in which obverse and reverse dies were mixed up it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that this was done intentionally to provide variations which could be recognized at the pyx trials. It is by no means the case that a certain form of **N** on the obverse is most frequently found combined with

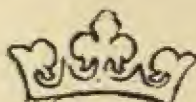
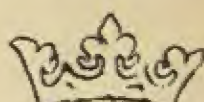
a similar **N** on the reverse: **EDWR·N**, for instance, is much more often found associated with the Lombardic **R** than it is with its own, and this is also the case with **EDWRN**. With the Lombardic **R** on the reverse this obverse is very plentiful, with the Roman **N** quite scarce, and with its own reversed **N** very rare. And combined with the double-barred **N** it is very rare indeed. It will be seen that by combining the various obverses and reverses contained in the list which follows it is possible to produce quite a number of definitely recognizable coins, enough to provide one for most of the quarterly periods between 1344 and 1348. In what order they were issued and how distributed it is not easy now to determine, but it seems quite possible to attribute a good many to their proper places.

The difficulty of describing differences of bust, hair, and general style is so great that it seems best to keep to definite variations, but that these differences do exist is very evident. The most conspicuously individual bust is that with the crown having small upturned hooks to the foils of the fleurs-de-lis. It is a very fine well-executed piece of work, and may well have served as a model for subsequent dies. It has the peculiarity of never showing any inner garment inside the tunic. It seems quite possible to recognize on specimens reading **EDWR·N**, and a certain number of **EDWR·N**, what may be described as an "early" crown. To describe it seems hopeless, but the principal difference is in the form of the central lys, which is in finer proportion. I hope the reader will be able to realize this from the sketch (crown No. 4). Crown No. 5 seems to be the only one found on all other issues.

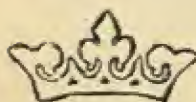
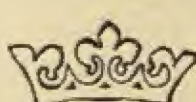
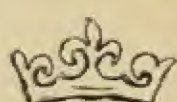
We have unfortunately very little documentary evidence concerning the mints other than London. One very valuable piece of evidence is, however, forthcoming from Durham. Quite the most plentiful variety of this mint is that having the obverse with reversed **H** and no stops and no episcopal mark on the reverse, and it seems reasonable to attribute these coins to the king's receiver between the death of Richard de



1. Low crown.

2. **REX**.

3. Upturned hooks.

4. **EDWR·AN**
and some
EDWR·AN
with early bust.5. **EDWR·AN**
with later bust, also
EDWR·AN and
EDWR·AN.6. **REX AN**.

Varieties of crown found on florin pennies.

Bury in April 1345 and the consecration of his successor, Thos. Hatfield, in July of the same year. The only known pennies of York and Reading all have the same obverse and are of presumably similar date. With the exception of the few coins with annulet stops already referred to, all the known Canterbury specimens are identical with these.

This fits in very well so far as the mint accounts are concerned, as the bulk of the Canterbury coins were issued between September 1344 and September 1345. Those with the annulet stops on the obverse were presumably struck before the others, as one of

them is muled with the reverse of the pre-1344 issue, and has the three extra tiny pellets in one quarter [Pl. III. 18]. What has become of the £300 of Canterbury pennies struck between July 1346 and September 1347 it is impossible to say. Do any exist, and if so how can we recognize them? Perhaps some day one will turn up with a *reversed* or double-barred N, which would solve the question.

Before giving a list of such normal London pennies as are known it may be well to describe in detail some of the unusual obverse dies which differ materially from the regular standard dies from which the bulk of the coins were struck. They will for convenience be referred to by letters, and the "normal" coins by numbers.

A. EDWR·KING·DNR·hVB.

A rather round-faced, plump-looking bust of the king with the *low crown* of the pre-1344 issues. A well-formed neck and shoulders showing an inner line of drapery. The hair does not stand out from the head so much as that on the normal coins. Large well-shaped letters of rather florid style identical with that on the normal coins, small annulet stops. The initial cross is formed of four triangular sections united at the centre. The whole appearance of the bust is quite unusual [Pl. III. 1.]

There seems to be only one die known of this particular variety. About a dozen coins are known from it.

B. EDW·K·R·R·X·K·I·N·G·L·O·N·D·O·N·S·hVB.

Several varieties of bust occur with this inscription. One very short and chubby, placed very low in the

inner circle, another very similar but placed high up giving a quite different appearance, and a third with a much more pointed face and quite different hair. [Pl. III. 5, 4, 6]. Very peculiar narrow lettering, quite different from that on any other English coin. The serifs of **Æ** and **T** are very prolonged. The **N** is Roman reversed. These coins are found as often as not muled with a reverse of normal florin lettering. The narrow letter reverse usually has very compressed reversed **H**'s in London, but a few are known on which it is Lombardic. The initial cross is neat and well formed.

C. EDWR·ÆNGL·DMS·hVB.

This die, which is known to us at present by a single specimen [Pl. III. 3] has much in common with those last described, but does not actually resemble them exactly in any particular unless it be the initial cross; the lettering although similar is more coarsely formed. The inscription is unusual (one **R** and one **N**). Pellet stops. The one known coin from this curious die, which stands quite by itself, has a reverse of normal florin type lettering.

D. EDWR·ÆNGL·DRS·hVB.

A very curious bust which may be described as composite. It has apparently the face, hair, and neck of the **RÆX** type (B), but the crown of the florin-type penny with the small upturned hooks at either side of the central lys. The few specimens known all have a reverse with normal lettering and the Lombardic. The obverse lettering is also normal, annulet stops.

[Pl. III. 7.]

E. Similar to D, but with pellet stops instead of annulets. [Pl. III. 9.]

The above are all very intimately associated. A is known muled with a narrow letter reverse which has two pellets after **DOH**: [Pl. III. 2]. This reverse may very likely belong to C (which has two pellets after **DNS**:. D and E are associated not only with the narrow letter coins of which they have the face, hair, neck, and drapery, but also by the crown, which has the small upturned hooks like those found on the normal florin penny placed first on the list of those coins.

The above descriptions will it is hoped enable the list which follows to be easily understood. The coins referred to by numbers are all of normal style and appearance. Considerable variety of bust and hair could be noted, but, as has been already said, it seems hopeless to convey in writing such differences.

The bust of No. 4 (with reversed **M**) has a long narrow face which is easily recognizable, and some of the busts on other varieties much resemble this.

On the following page is a complete list of such London florin pennies as are known at present. The reverse inscription is always *Civitas London*. The form of **N** occurring in this word is shown in the vertical columns.

Canterbury coins are known with obverses 2 and 4, and one of the former is muled with a reverse of pre-1344 work, with three small extra pellets in the **TTS** quarter.

It will be seen from the list that the various combinations of obverse and reverse provide over a dozen well-defined varieties. Also that every known obverse is found associated with a normal Lombardic

R reverse. This reverse is the one most frequently combined with A, but at least two coins with that obverse are known with the narrow letter reverse of the Rex type. No. 2 is known with R and N, No. 3 with R.N.N, and No. 4 with R.N.N.N.

We have now to consider in what order these coins were issued, and which can be placed to any definite period. If it has been correctly assumed that the special die coins come first, these and those reading **RXX** must belong to the issue of Jan.-Sept. 1344. With them, on account of its crown with upturned hooks, must presumably go No. 1, and as its inscription is identical No. 1 A must also be included. To the year Sept. 1344-Sept. 1345 must be attributed the Canterbury coins reading **EDWTR·TR** with annulet stops, and also those with obverse 4, which are the more plentiful. The fact that one of the former is muled with a reverse of earlier work would seem to indicate that **EDWT** came first.* To the same period should belong the London pennies with these same obverses and a Lombardic R reverse. Both are common enough, and doubtless formed part of the big issue of £22,000 struck at London that year. To the same year must be attributed the pennies of Reading and York and the Durham "sede vacante", all of which have obverse No. 4.

How the remaining combinations should be distributed it is difficult to decide. But it seems evident that some of the old obverses were used over again with a different reverse, and by this means made to do duty for a later period. That this was done a few

* This is confirmed by the early crown.

years later we have evidence from the early groats of 1351, many of the obverse dies for which were used again with later reverses. If we accept this principle it will be seen that obverse No. 4 could be made to serve for three more variations, No. 3 for two, and No. 2 for one, thus providing six more new varieties. Without further light on the question it would be little more than guess-work to suggest in what order these may have been issued, or to which period they belong, but there seems little doubt that the reverse with **H** comes late, and the doubled-barred **M** is so rare that it may even have formed part of the £47 of 1349-50. No coin is known which can be attributed to the £300 struck at Canterbury in 1346. Perhaps one may turn up some day which will solve the problem. Meanwhile, it is something to have got the coins into clearly defined and recognizable classes. It must be understood that although obverse No. 4 is placed last upon the list it by no means follows that a coin which has it is to be of necessity considered as being later say than No. 2 or No. 3, with reverse **N** or **H**.

It is unfortunate that the question of weight does not seem to offer any assistance. Florin pennies as a rule weigh rather light, considerably less than 20 grains, and the few odd specimens weighing 22 grains or upwards appear to be isolated occurrences, and not to belong to any one class, so that no information of value can be derived from them.

We must now leave the London pennies and consider those of Reading, York, and Durham.

PROVINCIAL MINTS.

The pennies of the mints other than London with the exception of those of Durham and the few coins of Canterbury with annulet stops are all practically identical as regards obverses. They have that of No. 4 with the reversed Roman **M** in **ΛΙΓΛ** and **ΔΙΣ**, and except that the letter **S** is sometimes large and sometimes small, they appear to present no varieties whatever. Whether the size of the letter **S** may be considered as a privy mark it is not easy to say, but as definite differences are badly needed to fill in the requisite number of quarterly periods it may be convenient to assume it to be one. The York coins have on the reverse an open quartrefoil in the centre of the cross, and read **CIVI TAS EBO RΛCI**, and those of Reading an escallop shell in the quarter under **VII** in place of the normal three pellets. The inscription is **VII ΛΤR ΛDI ΗCΥ**.

The escallop taken from the arms of Reading Abbey is first found on the Reading halfpennies immediately preceding 1344. It is also found on two varieties of halfpenny to be described later.

The issues of Durham in a way are the most instructive of the series, as there appears to be a chain of coins right down to 1351. Firstly, there is the presumed "sede vacante" or King's receiver's coin with reversed **M**'s on the obverse without marks on the reverse, reading **CIVI TAS DVR ELM**, and another much resembling it, but with Lombardic **R** in **ΛRGL** on the obverse, and a reverse reading **DVROLM**. Then we find a series of coins with the unusual obverse reading of **EDWΛRRΛRΓDNRShVB**. These, with one

exception, all have some sort of mark on the reverse, and vary in the spelling of the mint name, while the one placed last on account of its being round muled both ways with dies of 1351 has the remarkable reverse reading of **VIL ÆDV ROL MIE**. This change from **CIVI TKS** to **VILÆ** is most puzzling, and that it is not accidental seems proved by the fact that it is repeated in a slightly different way on the 1351 coins, which read **•VIL LÆ• DVR RÆM**. No explanation of this peculiarity is forthcoming. I have sought one for many years, and consulted numerous friends without so far obtaining any light on the subject. So it must remain a puzzle which may or may not be cleared up some day.

There is yet another problem connected with the Durham coins which has also so far defied all efforts to solve it. That is the existence of a remarkable penny differing entirely from all others both as regards style and inscription. The obverse reads **EDWARDVS REX AN**, and the reverse **QIVITÆS DVROLMÆ**. The face, crown, hair, neck, and shoulders resemble those of no other known florin penny, and the same may be said of the lettering, which is very like that of the second noble. There is a well-formed chevron-barred **Æ** on both sides, and the limb of the cross on the reverse has a crozier head to left before **QIVI**, showing it to be episcopal. The letter **T** in **TKS** is of a form quite unknown on any other florin penny, but resembles that found on certain nobles struck in 1346 or later. Where this curious piece is to be placed it is difficult to say. There seems no room for it in the series given in the list which follows, therefore it must presumably be placed at one end or the other, and as

No. 8 is muled with the 1351 coins it does not seem possible to place it last.

The following is a list of the Durham pennies known to us at present:

1. *Obv.*—EDWARDVS REX AN
Very unusual bust and lettering; chevron-barred A.
Rev.—CIVITAS DVR OLON
Lettering as on obverse; chevron-barred A.
[Pl. IV. 3.] B.M.
2. *Obv.*—EDWARDVS REX AN
Same die as last.
Rev.—CIVITAS DVR OLON
Crozier to left before CIVI.
[Pl. IV. 4.] B.M.
3. *Obv.*—EDW R ANGL DNS RYB
Rev.—CIVI TTS DVR OLON
No marks.
[Pl. IV. 1.] J.S.F.
4. *Obv.*—EDW R ANGL DNS YB
Rev.—CIVI TTS DVR OLON
No marks.
[Pl. IV. 2.] B.M.
5. *Obv.*—EDWTR R ANG DNS RYB
Rev.—CIVI TTS DVR OLON
No marks.
[Pl. IV. 9.] H.W.M.
6. *Obv.*—EDWTR R ANG DNS RYB
Rev.—CIVI TTS DVR OLON
Crozier before CIVI.
[Pl. IV. 5.] J.S.F.
7. *Obv.*—EDWTR R ANG DNS RYB
Pellet stops.
Rev.—CIVI TTS DVR OLON
Large pellet in centre of cross; no crozier.
[Pl. IV. 6.] J.S.F.

8. *Obv.*—EDWA R RING DNS hVB

Rev.—VIL ADV ROL MIE

Large pellet in centre and crozier to left after
VIL. A chevron-barred.

[Pl. IV. 7.] J.S.F.

9. *Obv.*—EDWAR R RING DNS hVB

Same die as last.

Rev.—VIL LK DVRRM

Pellet in centre; crozier after VIL; annulet
in centre of each group of pellets. A die of
1351. (Coin of 1351.)

[Pl. IV. 8.] H.W.M.

10. *Obv.*—EDWARDVS:REX:KINGLIE

A die of 1351.

Rev.—VIL ADV ROL MIE

Same die as No. 8. (Coin of 1351.)

[Pl. IV. 10.] L.A.L.

The obverse of No. 10, as will be seen by reference to the plate, is of 1351. It has been put in as completing the series. No. 10 is the "counter-mule" of No. 9. Both these coins must, of course, have been actually struck in 1351.

An examination of the above Durham list reveals the following salient facts. No. 8 is definitely associated with the 1351 coins not only by the fact that it is found muled with them both ways, but also by its unusual reverse reading of VIL A, and by the presence of a pellet in the centre of the cross, both of which features occur on the 18-grain pennies. Its position as the last true florin penny of Durham seems therefore well established. It will be seen that the obverse reading EDWAR R RING DNS hVB is also found associated with no less than three other varieties of reverse—(a) CIVITAS DVROLM, no marks (No 5); (b) CIVITAS DVNELM, crozier before CIVI (No. 6); and (c) CIVITAS DVROLM, pellet in centre of cross,

no crozier (No. 7). The presumed "sede vacante" coin (No. 3) has a different obverse legend (as London No. 4), and the reverse is **DIVITIS DVRELM** (no marks). A curious piece has just come to light having a similar obverse, except that the first **R** is Lombardic and a reverse reading **DVR OLM** with no marks (as No. 5); the **h** of **hVB** is omitted.

The coins just described seem to form a fairly complete chain from No. 3 to No. 8, and there seems no place among them for the **REX TIN** piece. Nevertheless, it must go somewhere, and the question is where? Mr. Lawrence has suggested that it must be a coin of de Bury struck before his death in April 1345, and in many ways it would be convenient to place it there. On the other hand, it has on the reverse a letter **T** of a form that so far as I can discover was never used before it appeared on the second noble in 1346. The lettering in my opinion has such a strong affinity with that of the gold that I cannot easily relinquish the idea that the workman who made the die used irons that were being used for the more precious metal. But this, even if proved, would not go far towards finding a place for this extraordinary coin. One piece of evidence that might throw light on the question is the fact that there is in the British Museum a specimen muled with a reverse identical with that of No. 6, but this does not appear to help much. There is every probability that coins were struck by de Bury some time between January 1344 and April 1345, but there is always the possibility that none have come down to us, which in view of the great rarity of several of these Durham coins does not seem difficult to imagine. If we are to accept **Rex Ain** as a de Bury coin we have then to account

for the mule with the normal lettering reverse (No. 2), it would mean putting No. 6 before No. 3, and attributing it also to de Bury. This would make a break in the series of obverses reading **EDWARRRREGDNR hVB**, and show that this inscription was introduced before the "sede vacante" coins were struck. It would, on the other hand, bring all the reverses reading **DVR OUM** together, and establish No. 7 with the pellet in centre as the first coin of Hatfield. This may well be the solution of this puzzling problem, but in default of some further evidence it does not seem right to do more than suggest it. Perhaps now all the Durham coins known are available for study together on the plate some reader may be able to evolve a better theory. The three coins Nos. 3, 4, and 5, with no marks on the reverse, must all presumably be "sede vacante" coins. Three varieties for so short a period seem a good many, but perhaps for purposes of pyx trials they may all have been considered alike.

We must now pass on to a consideration of the halfpennies.

THE HALFPENNIES FROM 1344 TO 1351.

As might be expected, in view of the pronounced change in the style and lettering of the pennies of the new issue, the halfpennies of the same period present an equally marked difference from any of their predecessors. The king's bust shows the same advance in style as is to be noted on the pennies, the lettering is more florid and ornate, and another more easily defined difference is the invariable use of the Lombardic **R** in London, which had never previously been found on the smaller coins.

Ten distinct varieties of obverse can be noted. In exactly what order they occurred it is not at present possible to decide, but for convenience of classification they may be described as follows:

Obverses.

1. EDWƆRDVS REX.

A well-executed bust of the king with a very narrow face. The neck piece is slightly curved at the base, is well detached from the inner circle, is pointed at either end. The crown is neat and well designed, and the outer members very upright. Much more so than on any previous or subsequent coins. Lettering large, well formed, and inclined to be florid. Initial cross very similar to those found on the gold florin. These coins are very plentiful indeed, and must have been struck in great quantity. [Pl. IV. 11.]

2. EDWƆRDVS:REX.

A very similar looking coin but of coarser work, the most pronounced difference being in the crown, which is formed of five distinct sections not united by a lower band. There are two small saltires after Edwardus. The lettering is very similar, but less well formed, particularly the letter Ɔ, the lower limbs of which are much less elegantly shaped. The hair and face are of coarser work. [Pl. IV. 12.]

3. EDWƆRDVS:REX.

Practically the same as No. 2 in all respects except that there are two pellets after Edwardus instead of the small saltires. [Pl. IV. 13.]

4. EDWƆRDVS:REX.

Much coarser work. A much larger, roughly-executed bust. A big crown with large central lys.

The crown is so broad that it overlaps the inner circle. The neck piece is shorter and curved at the base. Initial cross much less neatly formed. Two saltires after Edwardus. [Pl. IV. 15.]

5. EDWARDVS REX RN.

Bust with long narrow face. The crown very straight at the bottom, hardly curved at all. Very little neck shows. Usually two small bits of collar, which are attached to the inner circle and are hardly seen. A new style of lettering, much smaller. On good specimens the R can be seen to have a chevron bar. A neat initial cross slightly pattée.

[Pl. IV. 16, 17.]

6. EDWARDVS REX RN.

A shorter, rounder bust, the face chubby. Crown more curved at the base, and the outer limbs more splayed. The central ornament of different formation, more like that on the crown of the second noble (Walters Sale, 1913, lot 113). Indeed, the whole bust much resembles the one on that coin. A large well-formed neck piece showing defined drapery like that on the florin pennies.

[Pl. IV. 18.]

7. EDWARDVS: REX RN.

Similar bust, crown, and lettering, but not so much neck or well-marked drapery. Two pellets after Edwardus.

[Pl. IV. 19.]

8. EDWARDVS REX RN.

All as last, but a pellet at each side of crown, but none after Edwardus.

[Pl. IV. 20.]

9. EDWARDVS REX RN.

As last two coins, but a pellet at each side of crown, and also two after Edwardus.

[Pl. IV. 21.]

As will be seen from the above list, it has been possible to define ten different varieties of obverse dies and fourteen reverses. If, as we must assume, it was necessary for the trials of the pyx to provide coins with a different privy mark every three months, we require to find a few more than these lists furnish. On the other hand, as we do not yet know to what extent the combination of an obverse and a reverse die may have been used to denote a recognizable coin, it is possible that the twenty-four dies above described may have been made sufficient to cover the six years from September 1345 to January 1351. These years would represent about twenty-four quarterly periods, so it does not seem an impossible proposition. As for the sequence in which the different varieties were issued this must for the present remain unsettled. The order in which they have been described does not pretend to determine this. It has been adopted as a convenient method of classification, and also because style and workmanship together with certain details such as the form of the initial cross and shape of the king's crown seem to support this arrangement.

It is also further confirmed by the existence of the mule between obverse No. 5 (**R****E****X****A****N**, small lettering) with reverse No. 4 (coarse work, and propeller-shaped pellets [Pl. IV. 16]).

If it has been correctly assumed that the Edwardus Rex coins come early, this mule seems conclusively to place the small letter variety of the Rex An coins as the first of that series, in which case the arrangement of those which follow may well be fairly accurate.

Halfpennies struck by the Abbot of Reading Abbey,

reading on the reverse **VIII LTR RDI NGV**, and having an escallop shell in one quarter of the reverse in place of the pellets, are known of obverse 1 [Pl. IV. 23], and also with an obverse which conforms with obverse 6 in that it has no marks by the crown, but the curious presence of a saltire stop between the **R** and **N** of **NR** may possibly associate it more with obverse No. 10. [Pl. IV. 24.]

It may be noted that Radingy is spelt with a Roman **M** reversed, which form is never found on the London halfpennies. In this the halfpennies correspond with the penny which has the same **M**.

An examination of the mint accounts reveals the fact that in the period from January 1344 to September 1345, during which time the great output of the florin pennies was struck (about £60,000), no halfpennies or farthings were issued. We must not, therefore, expect any exact resemblance between the commonest varieties of penny and the halfpennies which exist.

It is unfortunate that although over a million farthings were struck during this period only a few survive to-day. I only know three or four which so exactly resemble the good work Edwardus Rex halfpennies that they must belong to the same issue [Pl. IV. 25].

Had others been available corresponding definitely with other halfpennies a reference to the mint accounts might have enabled us to form more definite conclusions.

It has proved no easy matter to try and present in proper order the many facts and features connected with the coinage of the period under consideration. There

has been inevitably a certain amount of repetition and a good deal of tiresome detail about inscriptions and lettering, but if the coins existing were all to be described this was hardly to be avoided. It would have been more satisfactory could more of them have been definitely placed to their respective quarterly periods. However, a start has been made and the coins classified, and we must hope that with increased knowledge of the methods employed by the die makers of "marking" them, that we may eventually be able to place most of them in their correct order of issue.

JOHN SHIRLEY-FOX

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate III.

1. Unusual bust with low crown of earlier coins, with reverse of normal style.
2. Same obverse die, but with reverse with narrow compressed lettering of Rex type. Reversed **M**; two pellets after **TAS**: and **DOM**..
3. **EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB**. Unusual bust like none others, but lettering resembles **REX** varieties. Reverse **R**.
4. **EDWR REX** variety, with narrow lettering. Tall bust. Reverse with lettering as obverse. **M**.
5. Same obverse inscription, but with short bust. Reverse of normal lettering. **R**.
6. Same inscription again, but bust resembles No. 7. Reverse narrow lettering, but Lombardic **R**.
7. **EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB**. Bust with hair, face, and neck as No. 6, but the crown has small upturned hooks to the fleurs-de-lis. Annulet stops [obverse only].

- 8.³ EDWTR·KNGU·DNS·hVB. Bust with early crown having tall central lis; inner garment visible inside tunic. Obverse only. [See crown No. 4.]
9. Obverse as No. 7, but with pellet stops instead of annulets. Crown with upturned hooks. Reverse CIVI TKS LON DON. Normal lettering.
10. EDWTR·KNGU·DNS·hVB. A very fine handsome bust. No line of inner drapery shows inside the tunic. The crown has upturned hooks to the fleurs-de-lis as Nos. 7 and 9. Normal reverse as No. 9.
11. Obverse inscription as No. 10. An under garment shows inside the tunic. This is unfortunately not visible on the plate. Central lis of crown tall and well proportioned. [See crown No. 4.] Obverse only.
12. EDWTR·KNGU·DNS·hVB. Inscription identical with No. 8, but bust of quite different style and appearance. Central lis of crown low and ill proportioned. [See crown No. 5]. Obverse only.
13. EDWTR·KNGU·DNS·hVB. Reverse CIVI TKS LON DON.
14. Same obverse. Reverse CIVITAS LON DON. First II double barred.
15. EDWTRKNGUDNShVB. No stops. Reversed II's. Reverse CIVI TKS LON DON.
16. Same obverse. CIVI TKS LON DON.
17. Same obverse. CIVI TKS LON DON.
18. EDWTR·KNGU·DNS·hVB. Reverse CIVI TKS UKN TOR. Three small extra pellets in TKS quarter. A reverse of the previous pre-1344 issue.
19. Same obverse. Reverse CIVI TKS UKN TOR. Normal florin lettering.
20. EDWTRKNGUDNShVB. Reverse as last.
21. Obverse as last. Reverse VII LTR KDI MCV; escallop shell in VII quarter.
22. Obverse as last. CIVI TKS EBO RKG; open quartrefoil in centre of cross.

³ Owing to the introduction of extra coins on the plate the five following have got out of order and should have been placed 9, 10, 11, 8, 12.

Plate IV.

1. **EDWRANGLDNShYB.** Reverse **CIVI TAS DVR**
ELM; no marks. Struck by the king's receiver be-
tween de Bury and Thos. Hatfield, April to June, 1345.
2. **EDWRANGL-DNSYB.** Reverse **CIVI TAS DVR**
OLM. Similar bust. Two different forms of **N** in
obverse legend. **h** of **hYB** omitted, different
spellings of mint name; no marks. Lombardie **M**.
3. **EDWARDVSREXAN.** Reverse **CIVITAS**
DVNOLME. Chevron-barred **W**'s both sides. Cro-
zier to left before **CIVI**. A very unusual bust,
differing from all others.
4. Same obverse die. Reverse identical with that of No. 5.
5. **EDWARRANGLDNShYB.** Different reading from
any London coins. Reverse **CIVI TAS DVR-**
ELM; crozier to left before **CIVI**. Identical with
that of previous coin.
6. Same obverse inscription. Pellet stops on obverse after
each **R**. Reverse **CIVI TAS DVR OLM**. Large
pellet in centre of cross.
7. Same obverse inscription without pellet stops. Reverse
VIL ADV ROL MIE. Chevron-barred **W**. Pellet
in centre. Crozier to left after **VIL**.
8. Same obverse die. Reverse **•VIL IIT• DVRREM**.
Crozier to right after **IIT**. Smaller lettering. Saltire
stops. A die of 1351.
9. Obverse similar to Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Reverse **CIVI**
TAS DVR OLM without pellet or crozier.
10. **EDWARDVS:REX:ANGLIE.** Small lettering as
that of last reverse. A die of 1351. Reverse from
same die as that of No. 7.
11. Halfpenny **EDWARDVS REX.** Good work; no
marks.
12. Same inscription. Saltires after **EDWARDVS**.
Coarser work. Members of crown not united.
13. All as last; coarser work reverse, but pellets after
EDWARDVS instead of saltires; but reverse finer
work.
14. Same obverse. Reverse of coarse work, and pellets
united in form of a propeller.

15. Very coarse work. Big face and crown. Saltires after **EDWARDVS**.
16. **EDWARDVS REX** **RI**. Long face; small lettering. Reverse as No. 14.
17. Same obverse. **R**'s can be seen to be slightly chevron barred. Reverse small lettering.
18. Different bust. Rounder face, and more neck. Larger lettering. The same on reverse. No marks.
19. Similar both sides, but two pellets after **EDWARDVS**.
20. Similar, but pellets at either side of crown; but not after **EDWARDVS**.
21. Similar, but pellets after **EDWARDVS** and at sides of crown.
22. Similar, but small saltires at either side of crown, and one among pellets on reverse under **CIVI**.
23. *Reading.* Obverse exactly as No. 11. Reverse **VIII** **UTR** **NDI** **IGY**; escallop in one quarter (**UTR**.)
24. **EDWARDVS REX** **RI** **VII** **UTR** **NDI** **IGY**; escallop in **NDI** quarter.
25. Farthing; almost exactly resembling No. 11.

Plate V.

Drawings of Halfpennies.

1. **EDWARDVS REX**. Good work; no marks.
2. **EDWARDVS**:**REX**. Rather coarser work, but still good. **:** after Edwardus. No uniting band to crown.
3. **EDWARDVS**:**REX**. Same work exactly, but **:** after Edwardus. No uniting band to crown.
4. **EDWARDVS**:**REX**. Coarse work; big face and crown. **:** after Edwardus. Crown united.
5. **EDWARDVS REX** **RI**. Long narrow face. Smaller lettering; chevron-barred **R**. Very little neck drapery; very flat crown. No marks.
6. **EDWARDVS REX** **RI**. Shorter chubby face. Larger neck; drapery showing folds of garment. No marks.

7. EDWÆRDVS:RÆX 7R. Similar bust; pellets after Edwardus.
8. EDWÆRDVS RÆX 7R. Similar bust; pellets at sides of crown.
9. EDWÆRDVS:RÆX 7R. Similar bust; pellets at sides of crown and after Edwardus.
10. EDWÆRDVS RÆX 7R. Similar bust; small saltire crosses at sides of crown.

III.

A HOARD OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN STERLINGS FOUND AT DERBY.

(PLATES III, IV)

THIS hoard was found hidden in the ground during excavation carried on between Nos. 110 and 112 City Road, Derby, on September 23, 1927. No container or covering is mentioned. The coins numbered 640, and were distributed as follows :

English.	Edward I and II pennies	.	.	.	488
	Edward III pennies 1329-31	.	.	.	2
	" " 1344-46	.	.	.	77
	Edward I halfpence	.	.	.	2
	Edward III halfpence 1327-44	.	.	.	14
	" " 1344-46	.	.	.	4
	Edward I and II, Berwick	.	.	.	11
	Alexander III of Scotland	.	.	.	10
	Edward I, Ireland	.	.	.	5
	Continental	.	.	.	27
Total					640

Most of the coins require no comment. All classes of Edward I and Edward II were found, and are classified according to the scheme put forward in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. VI to X, by Messrs. Earle Fox and Shirley-Fox. No coins of Classes Ia or Ib were found ; those of Class Ic are fully described in the appended list on account of the marked variation of the barring of the letter N. There were three examples of the somewhat scarce Class V, and also three examples of Class VII with the rose on the

breast. Class IX is very fully represented, all mints except Chester being present. In Class X the curious reading **QIVITVS CANTVS** appears. There were two coins of Class XII with the pheon-like ornament in place of the ordinary central lis of the crown.

Class XV yielded a very good example of a London-Durham mule, on which Bishop Beaumont's mark, the rampant lion and fleur-de-lis, figures on the obverse, while the reverse reads **QIVITVS LONDON**.

The coins of Edward III in the hoard are of more interest. Two examples of the early Canterbury issue (1329-31) were found. Both have R of the Lombardic form on both sides. One of them has a plain cross initial mark, the other a cross with a pellet in the centre; the latter coin has the three tiny extra pellets in the quarter under **TVS** which are absent in its fellow. The pellet stops usually associated with the obverse of this issue at all mints are absent on both the coins newly found. The rarity of these coins is well known, and a glance at the mint accounts shows the reason; there were very few struck.

The chief interest of the hoard lies in the florin-type issues, the large number of seventy-seven having been found.

The two London coins from the same dies, heading the list, present the new feature of pellet stops. The crown with "hooks" is placed on a head evidently intended for one of the coins with the thin, wiry lettering. These coins were known previously, but annulet stops are found on them, not pellets. The various readings submitted in the list of the London coins present no new features; all were known before, though of some only one or two specimens. The last

London coin with the reversely-barred **II** on both sides is one of these rare coins [Pl. III. 17].

The only absentees in the group of florin-type pennies are those which head Mr. Shirley-Fox's list and are figured in Plate III, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. The curious bust No. 1 did not appear, nor did any reading **REX** in full with the thin wiry letters, otherwise all the types of the London coins were present.

The mint of Canterbury furnishes two examples of its output. The first on the list reading **EDWTR-TRGII** is a beautiful coin of exceptional rarity [Pl. III. 19]. The only other known coins of the type are the two at Edinburgh from the Montrave hoard. The probable date of this coin is late in 1344. The other Canterbury coin is also scarce [Pl. III. 20].

Durham supplies a new variety. It reads **EDWTR R TRGII DNS VB** and **QIVITKS DVROLM** [Pl. IV. 2]. The obverse reading shows a round **R** and a reversely-barred square **II**. **h** is omitted from the Irish title. The reverse shows a round **R** and **M**, and an **O** in place of the usual **E** in the mint name. There are no episcopal marks on the coin. All the mints known to have issued these florin-type pennies were present in the hoard with the exception of Reading, a well-known rarity.

The eleven coins of Berwick have been arranged by Mr. C. E. Blunt, to whom I tender my thanks for his labour. Mr. Blunt is at work on the coins of Berwick, and when his paper is in print the references here given will be better understood.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Brooke, who made the lists of the Irish, Scottish, and Continental coins. These are the usual contributions to a find of the

English Edwards. The Irish coins, all of Dublin, call for no comment. The Scottish coins of Alexander III are all without a mint name. It will be noted that in the small number of ten found there are five varieties of mullets and stars. The list of Continental sterlings shows ten different princes striking at eleven mints. The dates of the various rulers, except William I of Namur (1337-91) and Renaud I of Arnheim (1272-1326), all fall within the period of our first three Edwards, and must have been all struck during the time covered by the English part of the hoard. This can be placed as beginning *circa* 1278, the date of Class I, and ending before 1351. There were no coins of the new issues of 1351 in the hoard. The florin-type pennies were the latest found, and we do not know sufficient about these to be able to identify them accurately with the issues of each year entered in the mint accounts. Coins of the years 1344 and 1345 were present in the hoard, and very probably some 1346 coins of London, and possibly 1347-8. The period July, 1346, to 1348 was not prolific in the coinage of pence; in 1348 the issue of pence was entirely suspended until 1351.

The halfpence found require but little notice. The two of Edward I were normal coins, and the fourteen which follow them in the list were all struck during the long period of Edward III's reign preceding 1344, and presented no unusual features. This large unsatisfactory group of halfpence has so far defied classification. The chief difference in them is in the position of the star in the legend.

The remaining four halfpennies, members of a very common group, are now tentatively dated to 1344 by Mr. Shirley-Fox [Pl. IV. 11].

The date of the hoard runs from 1278 to 1345-6 or 1348; these dates would embrace all the English coins and all those struck out of England.

When at the end of 1343 the resumption of the coinage of pennies was decided on after an abeyance of twelve years the weight ordered was to be of the old standard, viz. $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains. In July 1344 this weight was reduced to 20·3 grains, and two years later to 20 grains. It was hoped by weighing the coins of the florin type found in the hoard that some information might be obtained which would separate the heavy early coins from later ones of lighter weight. The evidence of the weights was, however, quite inconclusive. There were probably not sufficient number to afford reliable data. The coins were struck at so many to the pound weight, and six heavy and six light coins in the pound weight were allowed, in which a difference of 2 grains was permitted. Having weighed another group of pennies of which the prescribed weight is known, we find that even their weights do not agree accurately with the indenture weights. The following results were obtained from weighing coins in the hoard in parcels of twenty-five:—

25 of Class III	468 grains.
25 of Class IX	501 "
25 of Class X, London . .	511 "
25 of Class X, "	499 "
25 of Class X, "	502 "
25 of Class X, Canterbury .	514 "

This shows an average of about 20 grains apiece (clipped coins were excluded). The weight of the penny during this period was 22 grains and a fraction. The florin-type pennies could not be treated in bulk in the same way without mixing up the various legends,

so the individual weights are here appended. The two earliest florin-type coins in the list weighed 16.5 grains and 19.4 grains; the latter was clipped.

London.

EDWR. 20.2.

EDWTR, bust A, 20.1, 20 (2), 18.4 (in good condition).

" " B, 20.1, 20, 19.5 (2), 19.3.

" " C, 20.3, 19.9, 19.8, 19.3.

EDWR, H, R, 21, 20.6, 20.5, 20.3 (3), 20.1, 20 (8), 19.9, 19.8, 19.7 (2), 19 (4), 18.9 (good condition); 18 clipped (2), 17.5 fine, another clipped, 17 rather worn, 16.3 rather worn, 16.2 clipped.

EDWR, N, R, 20.9, 20.5, 20.3, 20.2, 19 clipped, 18.7 worn.

" N, N, 19.9 (2), 19.8, 19.5, 19.4 clipped, 18.8 slightly clipped.

" N, H, 18.8 a little worn.

" H, H, 20 worn.

Canterbury.

EDWTR, 19.2 very fine.

EDWR, H, R, 20.5.

Durham.

EDWTRR, 17.4 a little worn.

EDWR, H, R, 20, 19.1, 16.4 clipped, 16 worn, 15.7 clipped.

York.

EDWR, H, R, 21.5, 20.3 much clipped, 20.2 (2), 20, 19.7 clipped and worn, 19.9 broken, 15.2 clipped.

DERBY HOARD.

EDWARD I.

Class I c.

		Coins.
*EDWR	EX ANGLONSHYB	CIVITAS LONDON 3
		CIVITAS LONDON 1
N	N	H H 1

Class I d.

ÆD W R	ANGL	DMS	hVB	CIVITAS	LONDON	1
N	N			N	N	1
II	II			II	II	1

8

Class II.

London	N	N		N	N	5
Canterbury						1
Durham						2

Mule? III, II.

London	N	N		N	N	1
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9

Class III.

London	26
Canterbury	13
Bristol	9
Durham	1
Lincoln	7
Newcastle	1
York	.	.	.	without quatrefoil	.	9

66

Class IV.

London	ÆD W, pellet	·CIVI pellet	6
	... on breast	·LON	1
	of the same sort, but not clear		2
Canterbury, no marks			6
	ÆD W, pellet	·CIVI pellet	2
	... on breast	·TOR	3
	... on breast	·TAS	1
Bury		ROBERT DE hTDELGIE	1
		ROBERTV DE hTDL	1

23

Class V. Long letters.

London, pellet on breast	.	.	.	.	2
Canterbury	.	.	.	.	1

3

Class VII. Double-barred N.

London, rose on breast	.	.	.	.	3	
					<hr/>	3

Class VIII? Smaller coins, short letters.

London,	N	N		N	N	2	
						<hr/>	2

Class IX a. N's.

London, no star	.	.	.	.	.	1	
Canterbury, star	.	.	.	.	.	2	

Class IX b. II's.

London, no star	.	.	.	.	.	9	
„ no star	.	.	.	.	.	8	
„ star uncertain	.	.	.	.	.	2	
Canterbury, star	.	.	.	.	.	3	
„ star uncertain	.	.	.	.	.	2	
Bristol, star	.	.	.	.	.	5	
„ „ N	.	.	.	.	.	1	
Durham, star. Initial mark uncertain	.	.	.	.	.	3	
Exeter, star uncertain	.	.	.	.	.	1	
Kingston, star. N on <i>obv.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	2	
„ „ N on <i>rev.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1	
„ „ II unbarred both sides	.	.	.	.	.	2	
Newcastle, star. N both sides	.	.	.	.	.	1	
York, star. Quatrefoil on <i>rev.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1	
„ star uncertain. Quatrefoil on <i>rev.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	1	
„ star. No quatrefoil	.	.	.	.	.	1	
„ star uncertain. No quatrefoil	2	
						<hr/>	48

Class X-XI.

London.	EDWƆRD	.	.	9
„	EDWƆR	.	.	3

Class IX-X.

Newcastle, star, II.	.	.	.	1
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Class X.

London.	EDWTRD	2
"	EDWTR	10
"	EDWT	82
"	Illegible	4
Canterbury.	EDWR' R(ANG)U	1
"	EDWTRD	.	.	.	.	3
"	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	8
"	EDWT	.	.	.	.	57
"	Reverse reading	DIVI	TAS	CANTAS	.	1
Durham.	EDWT. Bishop Bek	.	.	.	.	17
"	EDWTR?	.	.	.	.	1
"	Uncertain initial mark	.	.	.	.	1
Bury.	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	1
"	EDWT	.	.	.	.	10
Newcastle.	EDWTRD	.	.	.	.	2
						— 218

EDWARD II.

Class XI.

London.	EDWT	.	.	.	.	14
"	" hVB:	.	.	.	.	2
"	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	6
Canterbury.	EDWT	.	.	.	.	11
"	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	6
						— 89
Durham, Bishop Kellawe,	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	4
"	EDWT	.	.	.	.	3
"	Uncertain	.	.	.	.	3
Bury St. Edmunds.	EDWT	.	.	.	.	1
"	EDWTR. Same obv. die	.	.	.	.	2
						— 13

Class XII. Plain crown.

Canterbury.	EDWTR	.	.	.	.	2
						— 2

Class XIII?

London.	EDWTR.	pellet on breast? TTS blundered	1	
Canterbury.	EDWTR	RVB ligated.	1	
				2

Class XIV.

London.	EDWTR		5	
"	"	Pellets in legend	2	
Canterbury.	"		4	
				11

Class XV.

London.	EDWTR		8	
Canterbury.	"		4	
Durham.	EDWTR.	Bishop Beaumont. Initial mark		
		lion and one lis	6	
"	"	" two lis	1	
"	"	" Number of lis uncertain	2	
London, Durham mule.		Obv. initial mark lion and 2 lis		
		(Beaumont). Rev. CIVITAS LONDON	1	
Bury St. Edmunds.	EDWTR		2	
				24

EDWARD III.

Class XV d.

Canterbury.	*EDWTRRRTRGUDNSHYB			
	CIVITAS CARTOR.	No extra pellets	1	
"	*EDWTRRRTRGUDNSHYB,	cross with		
	pellet in centre. CIVITAS CARTOR,	3		
	extra pellets in group below TTS	1		
				2

UNCERTAIN PENNIES OF EDWARD I AND II.

Mints and readings uncertain	22	
		22

Halfpennies.

EDWARD I.

Class IV.

London	1
------------------	---

Class X.

London	1
------------------	---

Edward III early

EDWTRDVVS REX ANGE.	14
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EDWTRDVVS REX. Plain	4
--------------------------------	---

20

Berwick Pennies of Edward I.

I a.

EDWTRNGLDNSHYB	VILL TBE REV VICI	2
----------------	-------------------------	---

Trifoliate crown

I b: II a.

D	VILL | TBE | RRE | VYCI	1
---	-------------------------	---

Trifoliate crown

A mule: the reverse of rough work, corresponding to the next coin

II a.

EDW(TR)TNGLDNSHYB	VILL | TBE | RRE | WYCI	1
-------------------	-------------------------	---

Trifoliate crown of very rough work

III b.

EDWTR(AR)NGLDNSHYB	VILL | TBE | REV | VICI	1
--------------------	-------------------------	---

Trifoliate crown

IV b.

EDWTRTNGLDNSHYB	VILL | TBE | REV | VICI	2
-----------------	-------------------------	---

Pellet on breast

Bifoliate crown

IV c.

N

Pellet on breast

VILL | TBE | REV | VICI	1
-------------------------	---

Bifoliate crown

IV b or c.

The word DNS or DRS illegible. Bifoliate crown	2
--	---

Doubtful, possibly III a	1
------------------------------------	---

11

EDWARD III ("florin" type) 1344-6.

London.

*EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Composite bust. Pellets stops; crown with hooks	CIVITAS LONDON Same dies [Pl. III. 9.]	2
*EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops	CIVITAS LONDON [Pl. III. 10.]	1
*EDWTR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops. Bust A	CIVITAS LONDON " " " " [Pl. III. 8.]	4
Bust B	" " " " [Pl. III. 11.]	5
Bust C	" " " " [Pl. III. 12.]	4
*EDWRANGLDNS hVB No stops. M's	CIVITAS LONDON [Pl. III. 15.]	31

The S on one or both sides of the coin is sometimes shorter than the other letters.

*EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops. N's	CIVITAS LONDON	6
*EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops. N's	CIVITAS LONDON N's	6
	[Pl. III. 16.]	
*EDWR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops. N's	LONDON M's	1
	[Pl. III. 14.]	
*EDWRANGLDNS hVB No stops. M's	CIVITAS LONDON M's	1
	[Pl. III. 17.]	

Canterbury.

*EDWTR·ANGL·DNS·hVB Annulet stops	CIVITAS CANTOR [Pl. III. 19.]	1
*EDWRANGLDNS hVB No stops	CIVITAS CANTOR [Pl. III. 20.]	1

Durham.

*EDWTR R ANGL DNS VB A round R and a reversely barred M, no R	CIVITAS DVROLM No episcopal marks [Pl. IV. 2.]	1
---	--	---

*EDWRINGL DMS hVB	CIVITTS DVNELM	5
No stops	No marks	
	[PL IV. 1.]	

York.

*EDWRINGL DMS hVB	CIVITTS EBORICI	8
No stops	Quatrefoil in centre	
	[PL III. 22]	

77

Scottish. Alexander III (1249-90) pennies (all reading REX
SCOTORVM*).

With 4 Mullets of 6 points (one has pellet after REX)	3
With 2 Mullets of 6, 2 Stars of 7	4
With 3 Mullets of 6, 1 Star of 7	1
With 3 Mullets of 6, 1 Mullet of 5	1
With 4 Mullets of 6 (no additional pellets)	1

10

Irish. Edward I, Dublin pennies.

With 1 pellet below bust	2
With 2 pellets below bust	3

5

Continental sterlings (with two exceptions, the Liège sterling of Hugues de Chalons and the Loos sterling of Arnold V, these are all with crowned heads, and therefore after 1300, when the uncrowned head was abandoned owing to English legislation against the "Lussemburges", &c.).

Alost, Robert de Béthune, 1305-22. Chautard III. 1, 3	2
Namur, Guillaume I, 1337-91. Chautard VI. 3	1
Liège, Hugues de Chalons, 1296-1301. Chautard X. 2	1
Loos, Arnold V, 1280-1323. Chautard XII. 4	1
Luxemburg, Jean l'Aveugle, 1309-46.	
Chautard XIV. 6, 7	8
Luxemburg, Jean l'Aveugle, 1309-46.	
Chautard XV. 2	2
Luxemburg, Jean l'Aveugle, 1309-46.	
Chautard XV. 4 (fragment)	1

Luxemburg, Jean l'Aveugle, 1309-46.			
	Chautard XV. 10	1	
Toul, Ferri IV of Lorraine, 1312-28.	Chautard XVI. 2	1	
Arleux, Jean de Flandre, 1313-25.	Chautard XVIII. 2	1	
Serain, Valeran II, 1316-54.	Chautard XVIII. 7	2	
Serain, Valeran II, 1316-54.	Chautard XVIII. 8	1	
Yves, Gaucher de Chatillon, 1303-29.			
	Chautard XIX. 3	2	
Shoeneck, Hartard, 1316-50.			
	Chautard XXIX. 1 (fragment)	1	
Arnheim, Renaud I, 1272-1326.	Chautard XXXI. 3	1	
Uncertain	{ *EDWSKIWTTTOIIS }	1	
	{ COM | EST | VUE | IISI }		
		—	27
Total . . .			640

IV.

ON SOME ISSUERS OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON TOKENS

WHOSE NAMES WERE NOT KNOWN TO BOYNE AND
WILLIAMSON

THE issuers of most of the following tokens (on which only their *initials* are given) were not identified by Williamson. Fresh details, from unpublished MS. sources, are given of many of them, and of their houses, and some of these are precisely located for the first time. Further particulars will also be found concerning other issuers, whose names were already known. The actual records of some famous taverns are also taken back to a much earlier period than has been done in other published works on Old London. Although my researches have led me, here and there, to challenge certain topographical notes by Burn in his *Handbook of Tokens* (and generally repeated by Williamson), I fully appreciate that we owe him, and also Boyne and Williamson, a great deal of gratitude for their work in classifying and describing the tokens of that remarkable series, which recalls to us the people of Old London in the time of the Commonwealth and Charles II, and the streets they dwelt in, with their picturesque variety of swinging sign-boards. The *numbers* of the tokens referred to are Williamson's.

Abchurch Lane.

(7) *Obe.* AT · THE · WHIT · HART = a hart
standing.

Rev. IN · ABCHURCH · LANE = D. I. S.

The *White Hart Tavern* is still at the south-east corner of Abchurch Lane, in Cannon Street. The initials should read B. I. S., and the issuers, Bryant and Isabel Spence, issued another token at the *White Hart* (see No. 465) in Cannon Street. In 1652, William, son of Bryan and Isabel Spence, was baptized at St. Mary's Abchurch, and in 1670 Bryan Spence was buried there in the vault. In that year a lease was granted to his widow by the Drapers' Company, whose Arms are seen on the house.

Aldersgate Street.

(35) *Obv.* AT · THE · SONN · TAVERN = the sun.

Rev. IN · ALDERSGATE · STREETE =
R. S. H.

The issuer was doubtless Ralph Hutchinson, who supplied wine, &c., to St. Botolph's Church, 1645-1658, when Mr. Thomas Wearge took his place, and also issued a token (62) at the Sunn Tavern. This well-known tavern stood by the corner of Long Lane and Aldersgate Street, where the Manchester Hotel is now. Ralph Hutchinson was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1651.

(39) *Obv.* AT · THE · BELL = a bell.

Rev. AT · ALDERSGATE = R. A. I.

The issuer was probably Robert Jenkinson, who appears in the Innholders' Company lists, and in parish lists of SS. Anne and Agnes, from 1657 onwards. In 1662-1665, Roger Jenkinson was assessed on 11 hearths in St. Anne's parish. The *Bell*, within Aldersgate, was situated close to the south side of St. Anne's Lane (now Gresham Street), and it was really in St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Aldgate Within.

(71) *Obv.* AT · THE · GEORGE · WITHIN = St.
George and the Dragon.

Rev. ALL · GATTE · 1649 = N. E. B.

The issuer was Nicholas Bailey, who leased the *George* from the Fishmongers' Company, within the years 1646-1664. The lease was afterwards assigned by Elizabeth Bailey to Humphry Cliff. Nicholas Bailey was buried in St. Katharine Cree Church in 1654. There are payments to him for wine, 1650-1651.

(77) *Obv.* AT · YE · MYTER · TAVERNE = a mitre.

Rev. WITHIN ALGATE = H. S. N.

The issuer was probably Norris. George Sherman held the *Mitre Tavern* 1650-1656, and in 1657 Norris occupies his position in the parish lists of St. Katherine's Cree. Mr. W. Gilbert describes an *unpublished* token issued at this tavern by John Brett. Mr. Brett supplied wine to the church from about 1662 to 1668. The 1855 *Directory* gives the *Mitre Tavern* at No. 3, Mitre Street, Aldgate.

Billingsgate.

(200) *Obv.* THE · MAIRMEAD · TAVERN = a mermaid.

Rev. AT · BILLIN · GATE · 1650 = V. I. H.

In the 1662 Hearth Tax list, Valentine Hayward was assessed on 12 hearths "at Smart's Key". In 1663, Robert Cash issued a token at the *Mermaid* with initials R. A. C. (198). He also issued a token (197) at the *Queen's Head*. In a Fire Decree we learn that Francis Heath demised the lease of the Mermaid at Billingsgate in 1663 to Joan Hayward, widow. She demised it to Robert Cash, deceased, and his relict, Anne, afterwards married the defendant, Stephen Locke. The latter issued a token (2916) in 1668, at the *Queen's Head* at Summer's Key near Billingsgate. It would seem that R. Cash changed the Mermaid sign to that of the *Queen of Bohemia's Head* about 1663. Since I collected the above notes, Mr. Gilbert has described an unpublished token of this Mermaid with the name of the issuer, Valentine Hayward, and the sign appears to have been the "Mermaid and Three Tons" (the latter being the Vintners' Arms).

(201) *Obv.* THE · SALUTATION · TAVERN = two men saluting.

Rev. AT · BILLINGS · GATE = R. S. M.

The issuer was perhaps Richard Moss (or Morse) who appears in parish lists of St. Mary-at-Hill at this period. In the 1641 poll-tax list of the Vintners' Company we find "Cordell Haymond at Ye Salutacon by Billingsgate", and he paid for a site at Billingsgate Dock in 1667. This was one of the famous taverns of Old London, and is mentioned first in *News from Bartholomew Fair*. Hammond was

Master of the Vintners' Company in 1652-1653, in which year the Company held seven dinners and meetings at the *Salutation*. He probably sublet to R. M.

Bishopsgate Street Within.

(221) *Obv.* THE · STARR · TAVERNE · IN = a star.

Rev. BISHOPS · GATE · STREETE = H.I.B.

The issuer's name was Hugh Best, who leased the tavern from the Merchant Taylors' Company. The *Star*, later called the *White Lion*, had its old entrance in Bishopsgate Street, close to the corner of Cornhill, and later had an entry from the latter street as well. In 1641, "Nathaniel Hawkeridge at Y^e Starr in Bishopsgate Street" is in the Vintners' poll list. In 1650, Jaine, daughter of Hugh Best, vintner, was buried at St. Peter's, Cornhill, and this was perhaps his wife's Christian name also.

(228) *Obv.* THE · SHIP · TAVERN · IN = a ship.

Rev. BISHOP · GATE · STREETE = E. D.

The issuer was Edward Drayton, vintner. In the 1668 Hearth Tax list he was assessed on 18 hearths. The *Ship* was near the south-east boundary of St. Helen's parish, nearly opposite the end of Threadneedle Street.

(232) *Obv.* THE · SHIP · TAVERNE = a ship.

Rev. BISHOPSGATE · STREETE = A. S. H.

The issuers were Ascanius and Susan Hicks, who were probably succeeded by Drayton. Ascanius Hicks appears in the parish registers of St. Helen's. I had suspected that this "Ship" was the tavern known as "the Great James" (probably the sign represented a warship of that name in James I's time), and I find this confirmed in the 1641 poll list of Vintners: "Ascanius Hicks at Y^e Great James in Bishopsgate Street" (*P. R. O.*). Pepys generally called the tavern the "Old James", but, in 1664, the "Great James".

(249) *Obv.* AT · THE · MITER · TAVERN = a mitre.

Rev. IN · BISHOP · GATE · STREETE =
R. M. R.

Richard Robinson is mentioned at this *Mitre* in the Vintners' Company's records in 1644. In 1641, Miles Clarke kept it (Vintners' poll).

Bow Lane (Cheapside).

(376) *Obv.* THE · MERMAID · TAVERN = a mermaid.

Rev. IN · BOWE · LANE · 1652 = I. A. P.

The initials are given in Williamson and Boyne as I. A. D. (and I notice that Mr. W. Gilbert, in his valuable and interesting account of unpublished tokens, states that he has seen this token). The issuers were John Powell and Anne his wife. My own specimen clearly reads I. A. P., and Mr. G. C. Brooke kindly informs me that the British Museum specimen also reads thus.

John Powell, vintner, dwelling in Watling Street and Bowe Lane, had children (by Sarah his wife) baptized at St. Mary Aldermary's between 1641 and 1647, in which year his wife, Sarah, was buried. In 1654 to 1661, children of John Powell, vintner, and Ann his wife were baptized; and in 1661, John Powell, and also Ann his widow, were buried. In my work on *The Mermaid and Mitre taverns*, I give some further details of the Powells, and show that the *Mermaid's* site can be identified with the interesting old house at No. 39, Bow Lane.

Bread Street.

(396) *Obv.* AT · THE · MEARMAYD · TAVERN = a mermaid.

Rev. IN · BREAD · STREET · 1665 = I. S. C.

John Chitty, vintner, was perhaps the issuer, but I have been unable to find any certain evidence, or of the second token (398) issued by T. M. D. (Thomas Dodsworth?). I desire, however, to deal with Burn's notes, repeated by Williamson, under the token of the *Mermaid* in Cheapside (591). The quotations from the accounts of Sir John Howard's steward should be placed under the token of the Bread Street *Mermaid*, which was not the same house as the Cheapside tavern, and which should be given its proper place as the oldest and most famous *Mermaid* tavern. It stood a long way south of Cheapside, while the *Mermaid* in

the latter street adjoined Saddlers' Hall, on the north side of the street.

The Pewterers' Company record a visit to the *Mermaid* in Bread Street in 1477, and the Vintners' Company (whose Hall was not far from the tavern) held dinners there nearly every year from 1533 onwards. I am greatly indebted to the Master and Wardens for permission to see their old account books. Here the meetings of Ben Jonson and the "Sirenical" fraternity took place (Tom Coryate). I have found no evidence that a *Mermaid* tavern existed near the Cheapside corner of Bread Street. Burn's description of the legend on W. R.'s token (595), with the words "over against the Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside", seems inexplicable, for these words are not on the known tokens. His use of the words, to prove that the *Mermaid* "in Cheap" stood near the corner of Bread Street, has led, however, to the general acceptance of that location by most, if not all, of the writers on Old London since his day. Mr. G. C. Brooke has kindly informed me that the British Museum specimen appears to read as Williamson's No. 595, without the words alluded to above, and I saw no evidence of them on the much damaged Guildhall specimen. Oddly enough, Williamson repeats Burn's note without comment, though he describes W. R.'s token (595) without the words referred to. It would indeed be interesting if these comments were to elicit the fact that Burn's token is in existence. The *Mermaid* in Bread Street belonged to the Fishmongers' Company, and was leased to William Williamson, vintner, in the interesting period 1594 to 1613. He was Master of the Vintners' Company in 1608-9. Nos. 29 and 30, Bread Street, and 37 and 38, Friday Street, correspond to its site.

Cannon Street.

(465)

Bryan Spence issued this token at the *White Hart* (see the *White Hart*, Abchurch Lane).

Carter Lane.

(472) *Obv.* THE · DOLPHIN · AT = a dolphin.

Rev. CARTER · LANE · END = I. M. B.

A Fire Decree shows that the *Dolphin* was demised to John Billing in 1664, "being a corner house in or near Carter Lane".

Cateaton Street.

(487) *Obv.* THE · KINGS · ARMES · TAVERN =
I. E. W.

Rev. IN · CATEATON · STREETE = I. E. W.

In the Vintners' records, in 1644, James Ware at the *King's Arms* in Cateaton Street is mentioned. Probably he was related to Roger Ware, who issued the token at the *King's Arms* in 1664.

Chancery Lane.

(500) *Obv.* THE · S · IONS · HEAD · TAVERN = the
Baptist's head in a dish.

Rev. IN · CHANCERY · LANE = R. M. H.

Richard Hilliard issued this token.

John Henthorne issued a second token at this house, with initials I. M. H. In a case in the Fire Decrees, John Henthorne and Mary his wife, late the relict of Richard Hilliard, vintner, deceased, were petitioners concerning the *St. John's Head Tavern*, against John King, Esq. Burn relates that the tavern was demolished as a precautionary measure during the Fire. The tavern stood at the south-east corner of Lincoln's Inn. Hatton gives the bounds of St. Dunstan's West parish (in the Rolls Liberty) from Jackanapes Lane to the *St. John's Head Tavern* inclusive. In the *New Remarks*, 1732, it was called "the Golden-Anchor Tavern".

(509) *Obv.* THE · POPES · HEAD · TAVERN

Rev. IN · CHANCERYE · LANE = W. B. I.

Pope's Head Court was on the south side of Jackanapes Lane, mentioned above. Lockie, 1813, gives "Pope's Head-Court, Bell-Yard, at 20, 2nd on the R. from 204, Fleet Street". William Johnson appears in lists of the vintners in St. Dunstan's West from 1648-1662, and may have issued this token, as well as his token (172) "At Y^e Drake. Bell Yard", 1667.

(510) *Obv.* THE · KINGS · HEAD · TAVERN = bust
of Henry VIII.

Rev. AT · CHANCERY · LANE · END =
T. A. K.

Thomas Kent was the issuer of this token. He kept this famous old tavern from about 1630 to 1660, and appears in the Wardmote lists of vintners. The tavern stood close to the south-east (not the south-west as usually stated) corner of Chancery Lane. John Gent kept the *King's Head* from about 1585 to 1612, and in his will refers to the "Tavern known by the sign of the Kings head" (see also Fleet Street, token 1102). John Gent was a "cousin" of Simon Wadlow, of the *Devil Tavern*.

Charing Cross.

(542) *Obv.* THE · MEREMAD · AGAINST = a mermaid.

Rev. THE · MUSE · GATE · 1650 = W. A. F.

William Field was perhaps the issuer. He was a searcher for the Vintners' Company, 1650-1653, and Master in 1654. In 1641, "George Crosse at y^e M'maid by Charing Crosse" appears in the Vintners' poll list. The tavern, commemorated later by Mermaid Court (or *Damnation Alley*), stood by Spring Gardens (south of the modern Trafalgar Square).

Cheapside.

(572) *Obv.* EDWARD · ATTWOOD = a half-moon.

Rev. IN · CHEAP · SIDE = E. I. A.

Under this token Burn gave an interesting note on the *Half Moon Tavern* which stood on the north side of Cheapside. Edward Attwood's *Half Moon* was, however, a different house (or shop). He was a painter-stainer, and died at a house called the *Half Moon* in Goldsmiths' Row (on the south side of Cheapside) in 1699. His wife, Johanna, was buried at St. Vedast's in 1689 (St. Vedast's registers).

There is, furthermore, no evidence that tokens (588) and (589) belong to Cheapside, where they are placed by Burn and Williamson. They were issued at the *Half Moon* "in the Court", and there were several courts with this name in London. Akerman, whose excellent work seems too little appreciated, describes one of these tokens under "Half Moon Court".

(573) *Obv.* THE · BULL · HEAD · TAVERNE = a bull's head.

Rev. IN · CHEAP · SIDE · 1650 = T. E. B.

Pepys mentions, in 1660, that Monk was "at Bensons". In the 1641 poll-tax list of vintners we find "Thomas Benson at y^e Bull head in Cheape". This was one of the forty taverns permitted in London in 1553, and, with the *Mitre* in Cheap, was named in *News from Bartholomew Fair*.

(574)

Fabian Browne's token is described in W. and B. with a sign of the *Castle*, but in a Fire Decree his house is called the *Wheatsheaf*. On a worn specimen this sign might resemble a castle.

(575) *Obv.* THE · FEATHERS · TAVERN

Rev. IN · CHEAP · SIDE · 1650 = T. E. C.

The issuer's name was Thomas Coates, vintner, and the *Feathers Tavern* formed part of the Mercers' property, near the western corner of Soper Lane, called the *Golden Key*. No. 67, Cheapside, represents its site to-day. Thomas and Elizabeth Coates had children baptized at St. Pancras Church between 1647 and 1649. Pepys saw the Lord Mayor's pageant from the *Key* in 1660, and visited the tavern next door.

(579) *Obv.* AT · THE · MITR · IN · CHEAP = a mitre.

Rev. SIDE · FORGET · NOT = T. D.

Burn's notes on this famous old tavern (repeated by Williamson) are inaccurate, and, with the exception of his quotation from the play of *Sir Thomas More*, and his extract from Richard Smyth's *Obituary*, of the death of Mr. Scat-tergood, might be omitted in a future edition. Unfortunately they have been repeated in many other works. Here again, as with the *Mermaids*, he assumed that the *Mitre* in Cheap was the same house as the *Mitre* in Bread Street, and Cunningham expresses a similar opinion. The *Mitre* in Cheap stood by the Great Conduit, between Mercers' Hall and St. Mary Colechurch (as I have shown fully in the work on the *Mermaids* and *Mitres*). Thomas Dudley issued the token; he is often mentioned in the records of St. Mary's Colechurch, and was Warden of the Vintners in 1648-1649. "Thomas Dudley at y^e Miter in Cheap" appears in the

1641 poll list of the Vintners. The *Mitre* belonged to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon. Payments are recorded there by the Pewterers' Company in 1461, and by the Churchwardens of St. Michael's, Cornhill, in 1466. I have an almost complete list of the vintners at the tavern from 1516 to 1666, but enough has been said here.

(590) and (591) The Mermaid Tavern in Cheapside
(see notes on the Bread Street Mermaid).

R. M., who issued (591) in 1651, was perhaps Richard Marsh, vintner, whose son was baptized at St. Vedast's in 1649, and whose servants were buried there in 1650. The tavern adjoined Saddlers' Hall on the east side, and probably became the *Half Moon* tavern after the Fire. Both taverns had a long passage entry from Cheapside, and entries from Foster and Gutter Lanes.

(592) and (597) The Star Tavern.

These tokens have the initials W. S. M. and W. M. S.

Mr. W. Gilbert, in his valuable paper, describes an unpublished token issued by Anthony Clark at the Star in Cheapside, which may have been issued at this tavern. In an old MS. list of tokens, contributed by Mr. Ambrose Heal to *Notes & Queries* (January 28th, 1928, p. 59), there is this unpublished token: "Starr Taverne In Cheapside—F. R". This is interesting, for I had previously concluded that Francis Ringstead was at the *Star Tavern*, as I found his name in a Hearth Tax list of the Precinct of St. Foster's (Vedast's) in 1668, 10 hearths, next to William Scarborough, 7 hearths, and close to William Knight (the owner of the *Star*). Neither Knight nor Scarborough appear to have been vintners themselves, but, as Wm. Scarborough's wife was named Miriam (buried at St. Vedast's in 1666), he may have issued the tokens in W.'s list. Pepys, on December 1st, 1660, records: "So to Pauls Churchyard, and there I took the little man at Mr. Kirton's . . . to Ringstead's at the Star, and after a pint of wine I went home." The burial is recorded at St. Vedast's in 1665, of Thomas Williams, servant to Mr. Ringstead.

(599) *Obr.* THE · MAN · IN · THE · MOON = a man
standing within a crescent.

Rev. TAVERN · IN · CHEAPSIDE = S. S. T.

Samuel Turner, vintner. In the 1641 poll list of Vintners: "Samuel Turner at y^e Man in y^e Moone in Cheape." The issuer was a searcher for the Vintners' Company, 1647-1659, in which last year he was Warden. The tavern was on the east side of Bow Lane, on the western boundary of Cheap Ward, as described in 1701: "the Toft which before the late Fire was part of the Man in the Moone Tavern and now made a garden . . . for Alderman Withers house" (MS. Wardnote Book of Cheap Ward).

Cornhill.

(716) *Obv.* THE · 3 · GOLDEN · LYONS = three lions passant.

Rev. IN · CORNHILL · 1653 = S. C.

Burn says that "the taverner's name was Cade". There is, however, no evidence that the issuer's name was Cade or that this house was a tavern. Pepys's stationer, Mr. Cade, was evidently John Cade, who had a daughter baptized at St. Michael's, Cornhill, in 1655, and a son buried there in 1660. In 1668, John Cade was assessed on 7 hearths. Burn gives some interesting notes on the stationer's shop, the "Three Golden Lyons". I think the tavern, alluded to by Pepys, was probably the *Globe*, and Cade's shop, in 1665, probably adjoined its entrance. The "Three Golden Lyons" had the Royal Exchange on its north side.

(717) *Obv.* AT · THE · BEARE · TAVERN = a bear.

Rev. IN · CORNHILL · 1656 = R. W. D.

In 1656 a daughter of Robert Dowse and Winifrede his wife was baptized at St. Michael's, Cornhill, and in 1660-1661, Robert Dowse, vintner, was buried there. I think we can safely identify him as the issuer. 1641, "Humphrey Hinton at y^e beare Birchen lane" (Vintners' poll).

(719) *Obv.* AT · THE · DOLPHIN = a dolphin.

Rev. TAVERN · IN · CORN · HILL = H. A. H.

In a case in the Fire Decrees, Henry Chitty was petitioner against the widow of Sam^l Ravenscroft who was seised of the *Dolphin Tavern* in Cornhill. In 1654 it was demised to Humphrey Hinton, vintner. Humphrey and Alice Hinton had children baptized at St. Michael's, 1639-1640, and Humphrey was buried there in 1669.

(721) *Obv.* AT · THE · CASTLE · TAVERN = a castle.

Rev. IN · CORNE · HILL · 1651 = A. F. T. H.

The *Castle Tavern* was almost immediately west of the Royal Exchange, and was mentioned by Stow. Fire Decree: "Richard Kinsey, vintner, petit^r against Nicholas Grice, Esq., who was seised of the Tavern called 'the Castle', and leased it in 1653 to Thomas Horsman, who demised it in 1654 to the petit^r." Presumably Thomas Horsman was the T. H. of the above token, and also of the variety with initials T. H. Kinsey supplied wine to St. Christopher's Church. Mr. W. Gilbert describes an unpublished token issued at the Castle by R. E. K. in 1657, and the above note shows that he was Richard Kinsey.

(729) *Obv.* THE · MERMAID · TAVERN = a mermaid.

Rev. IN · CORNHILL · 1651 = W. M. T.

The issuer's name was William Tapping, and Mary his wife. In the 1641 poll list of vintners we find: "W^m Tapping at y^e M^emaid in Cornhill." He had children baptized at St. Peter's, Cornhill, between 1643 and 1651, and in 1658, "William Tapping, vintner, feaver", was buried at St. Michael's, Cornhill. The site of the *Mermaid* corresponded to No. 72, the boundary house of St. Peter's parish on the north side of Cornhill. In 1620, a child "of Thomas Whaley Vint^r and Debborah his wife Dwelling in Cornhill at y^e Mermayd", was baptized at St. Peter's. This tavern was mentioned in *News from Bartholomew Fair*, but (judging from the references in the Vintners' records) only appears to have become prominent during William Janson's tenancy, about 1606 to 1619, when Company dinners were very often held there. This suggests that the list in the black-letter sheet was compiled early in James I's reign, but I make the suggestion with diffidence. Certainly up to 1600, the *Mermaid* appears to have been understood to be the Bread Street tavern, and it was rarely considered necessary to specify the street.

Crutched Friars.

(811) *Obv.* AT · THE · 3 · TUN · TAVERN = three tuns.

Rev. IN · CRUTCHED · FRIERS = I. E. K.

The issuers were John and Elizabeth Kent. Williamson quotes Pepys's account of the murder there in 1667, but does not appear to have noticed that, on May 10th, 1667, he wrote: "At noon all of us to Kent's, at the Three Tuns Tavern." There was a burial service for a "son of John and Elizabeth Kent" at St. Olave's in 1671. John Kent, no doubt before the Fire, issued a token at the *Three Tuns Tavern* in Gracechurch Street, with initials I. E. K. (to which attention might be called, in a future edition).

Distaff Lane.

(835) *Obv.* THE · BELL · TAVERNE · IN = a bell.

Rev. DISTAFFE · LANE · 1657 = R. A. T.

This tavern was kept during the first half or so of the seventeenth century by the Terry family, Matthew and his son Edward. The issuers of the token, however, were Richard and Anne Taylor. In a Fire Decree, Matthias Terry, son of Edward Terry, was petitioner against Richard Taylor. Edward Terry in 1655 demised to defendant a tavern called "the Rose and Bell" situate in Distaffe Lane. In 1624 the "wife of Mathew Terry, vintner at y^e Bell in Distaff Lane", was buried at St. Margaret Moses'. In 1656, "Richard, son of Richard Taylor at the Bell Tavern, vintner, and Anne", was baptized there.

Doctors' Commons.

(839) *Obv.* AT · THE · PAULE · HEAD = bust of St. Paul.

Rev. NEARE · DOCTORS · COMONS = G. H.

Gregory Hardwick was probably the issuer. He was a vintner, and a searcher for the Company in 1656 and 1663. In the latter year he was a Warden, and the Vintners' Company books record many visits to "the Pauls head in Paulechayne" then.

Exchange, and 'Change Alley.

This classification by Williamson is not very satisfactory, and I would suggest that such well-known houses as the *Sun*, the *Ship*, and the *Antwerp* should be placed under Threadneedle Street, in which they were situated. The Exchange Alley tokens might well be described under Cornhill.

Threadneedle Street (behind the Exchange).

(959) *Obv.* AT · THE · SUNN · TAVERN = the sun.

Rev. BEHINDE · THE · EXCHANGE =
N. A. C.

Rocque, 1746, marks *The Sun* on the north side of Threadneedle Street a short distance east of St Bartholomew's Church. The token was issued by Nicholas Colborne, whose name is not given by Williamson, though Pepys mentions it. On February 25th, 1665, after visiting the Royal Exchange, he says: "Thence to the Sun taverne . . . and I hear how Nich. Colborne, that lately lived and got a great estate there, is gone to live like a prince in the country, and that this Wadlow, that did the like at the Devil by St. Dunstane's . . . hath now choused this Colborne out of his house." Nicholas Coleborne married Ann Croone at St. Vedast's in 1651, and is mentioned in the parish lists of St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange between 1651 and 1664. John Wadlow (styled "Captain") occupies the same position, the fourth name from the end of the lists, from 1665 onwards. He was the son of Ben Jonson's Simon Wadlow at *The Devil*.

(963) *Obv.* THE · ANTWERP · TAVERN = view of
Antwerp.

Rev. BEHIND · THE · EXCHANG = P. A. T.

Peter Taylor was the issuer. In the 1641 Vintner's poll list "W^m Wale at y^e Antwerp by y^e Exchange" is mentioned. William Wale is mentioned by Pepys, and appears in parish lists of St. Bartholomew's, 1643-1647, &c. In 1650, till 1655 or later, Peter Taylor's name occupies the same position in the lists, and Robert Davey in 1668, &c. A case in the Fire Decrees locates the tavern precisely: "The Antwerp at the east end of the north side of the Royall Exchange, in the parish of Saint Bartholomew, and over against the said parish Church . . ." Robert Davey, vintner, was petitioner against Sir Thos. Abdy, Sir Wm. Wale, and Thomas Blgrave, vintner. Abdy demised the premises to Wale, and the latter in 1663 to Blgrave, who assigned them in 1663 to petitioner. Robert Davey had lost (in the Fire) about £1,500 in wine and other goods . . . &c. The earliest mention of the *Antwerp* that I have found was in 1626, when the Vintners' Company held about seven dinners and meetings there. The first Royal Exchange was modelled on the Antwerp *Burse*.

(964) *Obv.* AT · THE · SHIP · TAVERN = a ship.

Rev. BEHIND · THE · EXCHANGE = C.W.Y.

The issuers were Charles and Winifred Young. The *Ship Tavern* was two doors east of the *Crown Tavern*, which stood on the site of the Threadneedle Street entrance of the Bank of England. Winifred Young, widow of Charles Young, vintner, was petitioner in several Fire Decrees. Michael Holman, in 1656, demised to Charles Young, vintner, "the capital tenement or Taverne known by the sign of the Shipp". Winifred Young paid a rent of £120, "and a Terce of Claret". In 1668, Anthony Ratclyff "at the Shipp nere the burse" was presented for defective wine. (Williamson's quotation of an advertisement mentioning "Mr. Ewster at the Ship over against the Old Exchange" should be placed under token (718), Cornhill, where Ewster was a stationer).

(3135) *The Crown Tavern.*

Thomas Blagrave issued a token at the *Crown Tavern*, which stood two doors west of the *Ship*, and adjoined the earlier Bank of England on the east side, opposite Castle Alley (see Strype's map). In a Fire Decree, Blagrave was petitioner against Winifred Young and her son Charles, an infant. He had a lease of the *Crown Tavern* in 1663 for 21 years.

(969) "At the Globe Coffee House. On the Back Side of the Royal Exchang."

"W^m Lee at y^e Globe by y^e Old Exchange" is in the 1641 poll list of vintners. The *Globe* was at the south end of Bartholomew Lane. Mr. W. Gilbert, in his interesting list of unpublished tokens referred to before, describes one—"At the Globe Tavern. Behind the Excheng = W. E."

William Lee was buried at St. Bartholomew's near the Exchange in 1645. A rent of £63 for the *Globe Tavern* was paid to that Church by Mr. Wood in 1646, and by Mr. Willson in 1649.

Fenchurch Street.

(980) *Obv.* AT · THE · STAR · TAVERN = a star.

Rev. IN · FAN · CHURCH · STREET = I.M.C.

Star Alley is at No. 52, Fenchurch Street, and extends east to Mark Lane. The Alley leads to the church tower of All Hallows Staining, behind the present *London Tavern*. The Alley was no doubt named from the *Star* tavern. In the Churchwardens' Accounts of All Hallows Staining, there is a payment "for a pint of Sack at the Star" in 1647, and in 1649 Mr. John Clifton was paid for 27 quarts of wine, and there are other payments to him till 1669-1670. I think we can fairly assume that he was the issuer of the token.

(989) *Obv.* THE · FOUNTANE · TAVERN = a
fountain.

Rev. IN · FANCHURCH · STREETE =
W. A. K.

"William King at y^e Fountaine in Fanchurch Street" (1641 Vintners' poll). William King had children baptized at St. Dionis' Backchurch, between 1637 and 1651, and in 1657, "William King, vintner", was buried there.

Fleet Bridge.

(1045) *Obv.* AT · THE · ROSE · TAVERN = a rose.

Rev. AT · FLEETE · BRIDG · 1639 = W. D. B.

1641. "William Bellamy at y^e Rose neare Fleet bridge" (Vintners' poll list). The *Rose* was an old tavern, and its position by the Ludgate entrance to the City was important. It was one the forty taverns permitted in 1553—the three in Fleet Street being "the kings head, the horne, the Rose at the Bridge". The *Rose* (near the south-east end of Fleet Bridge) must have stood close to the position of the "Wine-Shades" under the railway arch, or rather west thereof.

Fleet Street.

(1066) *Obv.* A bear passant with chain = F. E. B.

Rev. TAVERNE · IN · FLEET · STREET =
1665.

1641. "Anthony Saxton at y^e bear at fleet bridge" (Vintners' poll). "1639. Roger Bragg leased the Bear to Anthony Saxon . . . Philippe Saxon, widow, leased it to Francis Brett, who was in possession at the time of the Fire." (Fire Decrees.) This gives us the name of the issuer of the token.

(1076) "At the Castle Tavern at Fleet Conduit =
D. S. G."

George Stanley kept the *Castle* in 1641 (Vintners' poll). He was perhaps the issuer, with the initials placed in an unusual order. He was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1648-1649, when several dinners were held by them at the *Castle*.

(1091) *Obv.* AT · THE · HORNE · TAVERN = a
bugle-horn.

Rev. IN · FLEET · STREETE = P. S. P.

This ancient tavern, now Anderton's Hotel at No. 164, Fleet Street, has belonged for centuries to the Goldsmiths' Company. The 1641 list of vintners gives "Philemon Powell at y^e horne in fleet street". Philemon Powell, and the *Horne* tavern, are frequently mentioned in the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Dunstan's West, in payments for dinners and wine. The *Horn* was one of the three Fleet Street taverns permitted in 1553-1554. John Hill, vintner, *Horne* in Fleet Street, was presented for defective wine in 1585, and in 1587 and 1598, Henry Radcliff. Machyn records in 1557 that the Spanish Ambassadors halted there to drink. Philemon Powell appears in the lists of vintners, St. Dunstan's West, till 1651.

(1101) *Obv.* THE · HORNE · TAVEREN = a bugle-horn.

Rev. IN · FLEET · STREET = I. A. W.

Joseph Walbanke, vintner, succeeded widow Powell at the *Horn* in 1654, and was there as late as 1679 (St. Dunstan's West, Wardmote Book).

(1102) *Obv.* AT · THE · KINGS · HEAD = bust of
Henry VIII.

Rev. IN · FLEET · STREETE = L. W. and
H. M.

(See also Thomas Kent's token, Chancery Lane (510).) In 1660-1661, Lewis Wilson and Henry Morris replace Thomas Kent's name in the parish lists of St. Dunstan's

West, close to the east side of Chancery Lane, where this famous old tavern stood. In 1666 William Mart takes their place (he had previously issued a token at the *Queen's Head* in Fleet Street). He issued a halfpenny token at *Henry VIII's Head* at "Chancerey Lane End in Fleet Street". He appears in the St. Dunstan's lists of vintners till 1683. The tavern has often been wrongly located at the south-west corner of Chancery Lane, but Rocque's map, 1746, shows its correct position, which is confirmed by the order of the successive vintners' names in the parish lists. Lewis Wilson also issued a halfpenny token at the *Sun Tavern* in Fleet Street, probably after William Mart replaced him at the *King's Head*, and also, in 1666, a token at the *King's Head* in the Strand (3017).

Friday Street.

(1132) *Obv.* AT · Y · WHIT · HORS · TAVRAN =
H. E. I.

Rev. IN · FRYDAY · STREETE = a horse
running.

The initials should read H. E. P. (Mr. G. C. Brooke kindly confirms this from the British Museum specimen).

(1133) *Obv.* AT · Y^E · WHITE · HORSE = a horse
current.

Rev. IN · FRYDAY · STREETE · 57 =
E. M. M.

1641. "John Isham at y^e White Horse in Friday Street" (Vintners' poll). The *White Horse Tavern* adjoined the inn of that sign, of which the entry survives between Nos. 28 and 30, Friday Street, while there is still a modern *White Horse* tavern at No. 32. [The present writer has given a full account of the inn and tavern in the *London and Middlesex Archaeological Transactions*.] A case in the Fire Decrees recites that "Sir Thomas Dacres leased the White Horse Taverne in Fryday Street in 1647 to John Isham, who transferred it to Pettitt, who was in possession at the time of the Fire, and is since declared insolvent". The tokens were issued at the *tavern*; they were rarely issued at *inns*. Edward Miller issued the earlier token. In 1656 "Married Edward Miller of this parish Vintner and Mary Longe

Spinster, daughter of William Longe Vintener of Polles Covent Garden" (at St. Margaret's Moses'). Wm. Long kept the *Rose*, Covent Garden.

1662. A daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Petty was buried at St. Margaret's Moses'.

1665. "Elizabeth wife of Henry Petty vintner" was buried. This gives the names of the issuers of token 1132.

Garlick Hill.

(1142) *Obe.* THE · GRAHOUND · TAVERN = a
greyhound.

Rev. AT · GARLICKE · HILL = A. B.

Andrew Brandon was the issuer. In 1658 the vintners' searchers presented—"2 Fatts of French wines defective doe remaine" in the cellars "of Andrew Brandon at the Dogge Taverne on Garlicke Hill". The tavern stood at the north-west corner of Garlick Hill where it joined Great Trinity Lane. Andrew Brandon was petitioner concerning "a messuage on Garlick Hithe ats Garlick Hill called the Grayhound or Dog tavern, demised to him in 1655 . . . Rebuilding the messuage will cost £1,500" (Fire Decrees). The site is occupied by railway inquiry offices, &c., behind Mansion House Station.

Gracechurch Street.

(1203)

"The 3 Tunn Taverne—I. E. K."—see John Kent's token in Crutched Friars (811).

(1208) *Obe.* Y^E · PEWTER · PLATTER = T. M. W.

Rev. IN · GRATIOUS · STREETE = a
platter.

The issuers were probably Thomas Woodward, cook, and Mary his wife, who had children baptized at St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1656-1659. The *Pewter Platter* adjoined the famous *Spread Eagle Inn* on the north; Lockie, 1810, gives: "Pewter Platter Coach Office at 86, by the Spread Eagle." It was at the tavern with this sign in old Paris that the entertaining rascal, François Villon, played one of his tricks to cheat the taverner. It is too long to quote here, but I will give a few lines:

"Ainsi furent, sans rien payer,
Les povres gallans delivrez
De la maison du tavernier,

Le cas advint au Plat d'estain,
Pres Saint-Pierre-des-Arsis".

In 1584, "Wm. Foden, Inholder at y^e platter", was buried at St. Peter's.

Great Eastcheap.

(1256) *Obv.* THE · BORES · HEAD · TAVRNE = a
boar's head.

Rev. IN · GREAT · EAST · CHEAP = I. I. B.

John and Jane Boyce, who had children baptized at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, 1644-1656. John Boyce, vintner, was buried there in 1658. (I have published elsewhere a full account of this old tavern and its vintners.)

Holborn.

(1476) *Obv.* THE · FLEECE · AND · AT = a fleece
and a rose.

Rev. ROSE · IN · HOLBORNE = I. H. W.

Jo: Willon at the *Rose* in Holborn (presented for a "deceitfull mixture" in his cellar, Vintners' records, 1653).

(1482)

William Whetston, who issued this token, was admitted to the Livery of the Innholders' Company in 1665. "at y^e Black Prince & in y^e Sunn in High Holborn". Williamson, naturally enough, describes the sign as "a black boy".

King Street, Westminster.

(1598)

The *Bell Tavern*. "W^m Austin, Bell Westminster" (1641 poll).

(1620) *Obv.* THE · SUN · TAVERN · IN · KINGS =
the sun.

Rev. STREETE · WESTMINSTER = E. F. W.

The issuer of the token was Edmund Waters, vintner.

I have an original parchment deed of 1671 in which Nicholas Towneley (and others) sell to Edmund Waters, vintner, of Westminster, . . . "All that back parte of the Messuage or Tenement called the Sunn Taverne . . . abutting towards the East upon the tenement of Edward Martin, Grocer, North upon the George Inne and yard, . . . late in thoeoccupacōn of John Foster, west upon other grounds belonging to the George Inne, and south upon the Messuage in thoeoccupacōn of Edmund Waters and partly upon the Messuage or Tenement and garden plott late in thoeoccupacōn of M^r Austin Vintner." Possibly Edward Martin issued the token in King Street in 1651, with initials E. A. M. Mr. Austin was probably vintner at the *Bell*, to the south. Pepys, in January, 1660, records a payment to "Waters, the vintner", and mentions several visits to the *Sun* tavern, at Westminster. Edmund Waters was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1655, and Upper Warden in 1662, and a good many dinners, &c., are recorded at the *Sun* at this period.

Lambeth Hill.

(1632) *Obv.* YE · KINGS · HEAD · TAVERN = bust
of Henry VII.

Rev. ON · LAMBETH · HILL = W. E. C.

The issuer was probably William Croone, vintner, mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary Magdalen's, Old Fish Street, 1657-1661. (See No. 2135, which also has the unusual sign of *King Henry VII's Head*).

(1633) *Obv.* AT · THE · GREEN · DRAGON = a
dragon passant.

Rev. ON · LAMBETH · HILL · 1651 = I. E. H.

Probably the initials of the issuer are in an unusual order, for an Edward Hunt appears in Vintners' Company lists, 1646, &c., and the annual procession of St. Mary Magdalen's parish generally started with a quart of sack at Mr. Hunt's at the *Green Dragon*. The court of this name led from the east side of Lambeth Hill to Thames Street (now Boss Court).

Leadenhall Street.

(1641) *Obv.* AT · Y^e · KINGS · HEAD · IN = I. I. A.
Rev. LEADENHALL · STREET = bust of
 James I.

(1642) was issued by the same person, probably John Athy, who had children baptized at St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1651-1655. The house was the easternmost one in that parish on the south side of Leadenhall Street (Hatton, Strype). The London Topographical Society are publishing an account of this tavern by the present writer, which includes a complete list of the (named) rooms and fittings in 1627, when Robert Shaw, vintner, took it over from Simon Willimot. Christopher Tillard, vintner, also issued a token there (1692). In 1663 a son of Christopher Tillard and Anne his wife was baptized at St. Peter's. Burn says that this sign was "perverted to that of the King's Arms Inn", which stood, however, on the opposite side of the street and farther east, and existed as an *inn* before the Fire. Mr. W. Gilbert describes an unpublished halfpenny token issued by "John Owen at y^e Old King's Head", but I am doubtful whether this issuer was a vintner, and perhaps he had a shop by the entry. John Cock was the vintner at the *King's Head* when the conspirators against William III met there in 1695 (Williamson gives the date as 1681 in a note, which should be corrected in a future edition). No. 11, Leadenhall Street, corresponds to the site of the tavern.

Lombard Street.

(1756) *Obv.* THE · CARDENALLS · CAPP = a cardinal's cap.
Rev. TAVERN · IN · LOMBARD · STRETE
 = I. M. S.

John Steele, vintner, and Mary his wife, had children baptized at St. Mary's, Woolnoth, 1633-1641, and John Steele, vintner, was buried there in 1679. 1641, "John Steele at y^e Cardinalls hatt in Lumbard Street" (Vintners' poll list). This was one of the three Lombard Street taverns in the list of forty taverns permitted in 1553-1554. Edward Annable, vintner, kept the tavern in 1603. William Abraham there was presented for defective wine in 1563, and kept the tavern till about 1587. He was Master of the Vintners' Company 1576-1578.

(2256) The Pope's Head.

This token, of the famous *Pope's Head Tavern*, should surely be placed under Lombard Street—it is rather lost in Williamson's list. John Sawyer, the issuer, is frequently mentioned in the St. Mary Woolnoth registers. His wife's name was Frances, and the initial E. on the token was either a blunder, or has been misread. John Sawyer, like his neighbour John Steele at the *Cardinal's Hat*, was in the rebuilt tavern after the Fire, and was buried in 1687. This was a permitted tavern in 1558. In 1564, Cuthbert Buckle "at the Bisshoppeshead" petitioned to have his house included in the forty permitted. Pope's Head Alley is now being built over by Lloyd's Bank, and will shortly disappear.

London Wall.

(1771) *Obv.* THE · BELL · AT · LONDON = a bell.

Rev. WALL · VINTENER · 1657 = T. A. S.

I find the issuer's name in the following "presentment" by the Vintners' searchers in 1658, and also the interesting fact that he had a "music house". Thos. Smith at the Musicke house at the Blew Bell by the Posterne Gate of London Wall—"one puncheon of compounded and adulterated unwholesome Drincke fitt to have the head beaten out". This is an early reference to a music-house.

The Minories.

(1921) *Obv.* AT · THE · GOULDEN · ANKER = an anchor.

Rev. IN · THE · MINEREESE = I. S. F.

1641. "John Firebrace at y^e Anchor in y^e Minories" (Vintners' poll).

Moorgate.

(1968) "Pelham More at y^e Sun at Moregate" (1641 poll).

His halfpenny token has the sign of the *Sun* and *More's Head* (punning on his name).

New Fish Street.

(2008) *Obv.* Y^E. SWAN · & · BRIDGE · IN = a swan walking on a bridge with houses.

Rev. NEW · FISH · STREET · 57 = G. E. B.

This ancient tavern was formerly known as the *Castle* alias the *Swan*. Gilbert Brandon, vintner, and Elizabeth his wife were the issuers.

1641. "Gilbert Brandon at y^e Swan in Newfish Street" (Vintners' poll). Burn's note, that "the swan . . . is intended for a pun—the swan above bridge, to distinguish it from the *Old Swan* in Upper Thames Street" might well be omitted in a future edition. The Old Swan stairs *were* above bridge. New Fish Street was formerly called Bridge Street, and Gilbert Brandon's design was probably intended to suggest the position of the tavern, by the approach to the old bridge. (See also token 3093, Thames Street.)

(2007) *Obv.* THE · KINGS · HEAD · TAVERN = Henry VIII's head.

Rev. IN · NEW · FISH · STREETE = T. M. B.

Thomas Benson was the issuer, and a case in the Fire Decrees mentions him, and also the issuers of the *King's Head* tokens, 2009 and 2011. The *King's Head* tavern was demised in 1647 to Thomas Benson for 25 years at £80 rent, and afterwards to Thomas Blagrove (2009), and, later on, to Robert Cradocke (2011). King's Head Court, at No. 34, commemorates the old tavern.

(2013) *Obv.* THE · BLACK · SPRED · EAGLE = a double-headed spread eagle.

Rev. IN · NEW · FISH · STREETE = F. M. M.

A case in the Fire Decrees states that this house was demised to Francis Marshall, tallow-chandler, in 1659.

(2015) *Obv.* Y^E. SUN · TAVERNE · IN = the sun.

Rev. NEW · FISHE · STREET · 57 = T. E. P.

1641. "Thomas Padnoll at y^e Sun in Newfish Street" (Vintners' poll). Thomas Padnoll and Elizabeth Jackson were married at St. Dionis' in 1636. The tavern adjoined the churchyard of St. Margaret's on the south side.

(2016) *Obv.* AT Y^E · GRASHOPER · IN = T. V.

Rev. NEW · FISH · STREETE = a grass-hopper.

Thomas Vyner, who paid rent for the *Grasshopper*, which stood between King's Head Court and Thames Street.

Newgate Market.

(2022) *Obv.* AT · Y^E · 3 · TUNNS · TAVERN = C. H.
—E. S.

Rev. IN · NEWGATE · MARKET = three tuns.

In Christchurch parish, in 1662–1663, Christopher Harris and Edward Short were assessed close together; the former was a searcher of the Vintners' Company in 1663. John Gytens, vintner, kept the *Three Tuns* from about 1564 to 1580. Three Tuns Passage, Ivy Lane, marks the site of the back entrance to the tavern. The Vintners' Company record many visits there between 1565 and 1666.

(2027) *Obv.* AT Y^E · ROSE · TAVERNE = E. A. S.

Rev. IN · NEWGATE · MARKET = a rose.

Probably the issuer was Edward Short, vintner, whose daughter was buried at Christchurch in 1667; he was buried there in 1671. This ancient tavern was in earlier times called the *Katherine Wheel and Rose*, and gave its name to Rose Street. The *Three Tuns* and the *Rose* were amongst the forty taverns permitted in 1553. In 1564, Anthonye Gregorye at the *Rose*, and John Gytens at the *Three Tuns*, petitioned to be included amongst the forty taverners appointed. In 1564, the year after the terribly fatal epidemic of plague, I notice that the vintners then at the three chief taverns in this district were married at Christ Church, Newgate—Anthony Gregory (the *Rose*), George Crowther (*Bull's Head*), and John Gytens (*Three Tuns*); and Gregory and Gytens each had a son baptized in 1567. Anthony Gregory was buried in 1576; and William Harryson, vintner, was at the *Rose* in 1585–1586. All these individuals were vintners, and Crowther was Master in 1578–1580.

Old Bailey.

(2096) *Obv.* NEXT · TO · THE · 3 · CRANES = 1651.
W. B.

Rev. TAVERN · OULD · BALY · SALTER =
1651. W. B.

In a late Hearth Tax list of 1678, William Barnes "next y^e 3 Craine tavern" was assessed on 8 hearths, in Old Bailey.

1641. "John Carr at y^e 3 Cranes in y^e Old bailey" (Vintners' poll). This tavern (and not, as assumed by Wheatley and others, the *Three Cranes* in the Vintry) was no doubt the house mentioned by Pepys on January 23rd, 1662, where his uncle Fenner's wedding dinner was held. The party, it will be remembered, was crammed into "a narrow dogg-hole" of a room, and Pepys loathed his company and victuals! Uncle Fenner lived in the Old Bailey, and "we all went over to the Three Crane Tavern". J. C. issued a token (2098), "at the Rose", and John Carr may have moved to that house. In 1656 George Waight at the *Three Cranes* in the Old Bailey was summoned by the Vintners' Company for a false mixture found in his cellar.

Old Fish Street.

(2135) *Obv.* THE · KINGS · HEAD · TAVERN =
bust of Henry VII.

Rev. IN · OLD · FISHE · STREET = W. R. A.

(See No. 1632, Lambeth Hill, which also has King Henry VII's head on the obverse). This sign is so unusual (Henry VIII generally appearing on "King's Head" signs) that I suspect that these tokens were issued at the same house, and that the *King's Head* tavern stood at the north-east corner of Lambeth Hill and Old Fish Street. Lambeth Hill ended opposite the church of St. Mary Magdalen, and in the MS. churchwardens' accounts I find payments for wines and dinners to William Andrewes, and also payments at the *King's Head*, 1648-1652. About 1657, Croone took his place, and was paid for the Audit dinner, &c., until 1661 or later. I have already suggested that he issued token (1632). The steward of Sir John Howard recorded in 1463-1464: "Item the sayd day at soper in Olde fyshstret in expencys at the Kyngys hed. xijd."

(2141) *Obv.* AT · THE · SWAN · TAVERN = a swan.

Rev. IN · OULD · FISH · STREET = I.A.M.

Burn located this important old tavern by quoting an extract from an Inquisition held in 1413 (not 13 Henry V., as W. states, but 1 Hen. V) to determine the boundaries of the Market in Old Fish Street, but he added some words which are not in the original account in Letter Book I. Burn says that "the tenement late of John Gayton, called the Swan on the Hoop, at the south-east corner of Old Fish Street and Bread Street, is noticed as the most eastern point on the south side". The passage in the Letter Book actually runs thus: "to the tenement late of John Gayton called the Swanne on the Hoope to the east". (Mr. A. H. Thomas confirmed this reading, which is as given by Riley.) By thus locating the *Swan* at the corner of Bread Street hill, Burn placed it in the parish of St. Nicholas' Olave, whereas it lay in that parish *and* in St. Nicholas' Coleabbey. In 1428, Richard Esgaston, fishmonger, demised *le Swan on the hoop* and a tenement and brewery adjacent called *le Swan*, and it is also mentioned in deeds of 1467 and 1487. Henry Pearson and Paul Hawkyins, vintners, kept the *Swan* about 1570 to 1589. The issuer of the token was John Marshall, vintner, who appears in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Nicholas' Coleabbey, 1632-1650. In 1639-1640, the Vintners' Company record a payment for a dinner to "Mr. John Marshall at y^e Swan in Old fish Street".

(2146) *Obv.* AT · THE · SHIPP · TAVERN = a ship.

Rev. IN · OLD · FISHE · STREETE = E.E.S.

Children of Edward Surman and Elizabeth his wife were baptized at St. Nicholas' Coleabbey in 1650 and 1651. He is mentioned in a list of vintners in 1651; and in 1652-1653 he paid rent for a cellar under the vestry, which suggests that the *Ship* adjoined the church. In 1653, Edward Surman, vintner, was buried. William Abell, who became rather notorious as one of the unpopular *farmers* of wine, was at the *Ship* tavern, and had children baptized at St. N. C. between 1611 and 1620. An annual rent was paid to the church for the tavern—1641. "Rec^d of Aldⁿ Abell one years Rent for the Ship Taverne—3li. 6s. 8d."

(2145) *Obv.* AT · CARDYNAL · WOOLSEY = bust
of Cardinal Wolsey.

Rev. IN · OULD · FISH · STRET = I. E. P.

In 1659, Elizabeth, daughter of John Parker, vintner, and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized at St. Nicholas' Coleabbey. John Parker, vintner, was buried in 1660. It seems probable that he was the issuer.

Paternoster Row.

(2187)

Thomas Allen issued this token at the *Queen's Head*, in 1664. In 1641, Robert Quarterman kept the *Queen's Head* (Vintners' poll). Queen's Head Passage still exists, wherein stood the celebrated *Dolly's*, commemorated by a mural tablet on the west side. *Dolly's* was probably on the site of the earlier *Queen's Head*, though Timbs wrote: "At *Dolly's* is a window pane painted with the head of Queen Anne, which may explain the name of the Court." The Court and passage derive their name from the earlier tavern.

(2188) *Obv.* THE · CASTELL · TAVERN = a castle.

Rev. IN · PATER · NOSTER · ROE = I.D.B.

John Broughton, vintner, was no doubt the issuer: he is often mentioned in the accounts of St. Michael's-le-Quern. The *Castle* tavern stood midway between Panyer Alley and Queen's Head Passage, and may be located at No. 9. It has been stated that Richard Tarlton kept this tavern, and it is true that it was the scene of one of his jests, and his wife is said to have kept an "ordinary" in Paternoster Row. This may have adjoined "the Castle", but I do not think that Tarlton kept the tavern. Henry Prannell, vintner, who was there in 1564, and who died in 1589 (the year after Tarlton), says in his will: "Item whereas my . . . wife Anne . . . standethe joyntly seased with me . . . of the taverne and greate messuage comonly called the signe of the Castle in pater noster Rowe." Henry Prannell was Warden of the Vintners' Company in 1578, and Master in 1582-1584. The Vintners' Company record dinners at the *Castle* in 1558 and 1562; and I noted a payment there in 1561, by the Churchwardens of St. Michael's-le-Quern. William Bonham, vintner, kept the *Castle* from 1598, or earlier, to 1612. In

1648, R. Smyth recorded the death of "Gough; vintner at the Castle in Paternoster Row". It was a noted house for concerts about 1724-1744.

Pudding Lane.

(2282) *Obv.* AT · THE · MAYDEN · HEADE = a
"maidenhead".

Rev. IN · PUDIN · LANE · 1668 = HIS ·
HALFE · PENY.—B. W. A.

(2283), B. W. A. issued a similar token in 1657, and a third, similar one, (2286). The issuer was no doubt Bryan Appleby, who was paid for wine, &c, by the churchwardens of St. George's, Botolph Lane, 1656 to 1676.

Ratcliff Highway.

(2335) *Obv.* AT · THE · RED · LYON · IN = a lion
rampant.

Rev. RETLIFE · 1649 = A. S. A.

1641. "Abraham Atwood at y^e Red lion at Ratcliff"
(Vintners' poll).

St. Clement's Lane, Eastcheap.

Several of the tokens placed by Williamson under St. Clement's (Strand) belong to St. Clement's Lane on the north side of Cannon Street.

(2453)

Belongs to St. Clement's Lane, Eastcheap, and probably 2454 also.

(2462) *Obv.* AT · THE · SHIP = a ship.

Rev. IN · CLEMENTS · LANE = M. A. K.

Matthew King, cook, of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, married Anne Cave, in 1655 at St. Michael's, Cornhill.

St. John's Street.

(2573) *Obv.* THE · PEWTER · PLA = a platter.

Rev. ST · IOHN · STREETE = I. E. M.

"Mr. Middleton at y^e Pewter Platter, St. John's Street," 1665 (Innholders' lists). Strype, 1720, marks the *Pewter Platter Inn* on the west side of St. John's Street (see also No. 1208, Gracechurch Street)

St. Mary-at-Hill, Billingsgate.

(2693) *Obv.* AT · THE · 3 · TONS · TAVERN = three tuns.

Rev. ON · MARYE · HILL · 1651 = T. M. T.

1641. "Thomas Tuson at y^e 3 Tons at St. Mary hill" (Vintners' poll).

St. Michael's Alley and Lane (Thames Street).

Under this heading, W. and B. describe the following token, which belongs to St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. The interest of this important token is thus lost.

(2695) *Obv.* STEPHEN · HAYWARD · GEO
BACKLER = a hand pouring coffee
into a cup.

Rev. At · the · ould · Coffee · house · in · St ·
Michells · Ally · formerly · $\frac{1}{2}$ · Bomans
(in six lines).

This token was issued at the early *coffee-house* in that Alley. Aubrey said that the first *coffee-house* in London "was in St. Michael's Alley in Cornhill opposite to the Church, which was set up by one Bowman (coachman to Mr. Hodges, a Turkey Merchant, who putt him upon it) in or about the yeare 1652". Bowman's name, it will be noticed, is on the token, and the following extracts, which I made from Hearth tax lists of the precinct of St. Michael's, Cornhill (P. R. O.), give useful information. In the 1662 list we find "Christopher Bowman, 8 hearths", and, in precisely the same position in the 1668 list, "George Backler and Stephen Hayward", assessed together on 8 hearths. In the registers of St. Michael's, Cornhill, the burial is entered, in

1662, "Oct. 25 Christofer Bowman; in S. isle; consumption". The token should be described under *Cornhill*.

St. Nicholas Lane (Lombard Street).

(2697) *Obv.* AT · THE · BEL · IN = a bell.

Rev. S · NICOLAS · LANE = I. K. B.

The *Bell* in St. Nicholas Lane was conveyed to John Billingsley, vintner, in 1655 (H. R.). 1641, "John Westley at y^e Bell in St. Nicholas Lane" (Vintners' poll).

St. Paul's Churchyard.

(2716) *Obv.* AT · THE · 3 · TUNN · TAVERNE = three tuns.

Rev. IN · S · PAULS · CHURCH · YARD = E. C.

Elizabeth Clare, widow (Fire Decrees). Probably this extract from the Vintners' Company records concerns her: 1655. "Mrs Clare in whose cellar the Search found a false mixture."

St. Thomas Apostle.

(2736)

"In the Back Side of St. Tho: Apostles"—H. M. R. (Bust of a priest.) Probably the issuer was Henry Redman, at the *Pope's Head*. Henry and Mary Redman had a child baptized in this parish in 1660, and Henry Redman supplied wine to the church. He afterwards issued a token at the *Pope's Head* in Chancery Lane, 1666.

Shoe Lane.

(2802) Pastry Cooke. 1667 = a crown.—In Shoe Lane.—I. H. R.

John Renolds (Oliver and Mills's Survey).

Spittlegate.

(2938) *Obv.* AT · THE · KINGS · HEAD = bust of Charles I.

Rev. TAVERN · AT · SPITLEGATE = T. S. A.

1658 (Vintners' records). "Thomas Avis at the Kinges head at Spittle gate."

The Strand.

(2968) *Obv.* AT · YE · HALFE · MOONE = a half-moon.

Rev. TAVERN · IN · YE · STRAND = I. K. D.

1641. "Joe Doe, at y^e halfe Moone in y^e Strond" (Vintners' poll).

(2972)

1641. "W^m Agg at y^e bell in y^e Strond" (Vintner's poll). Williamson's note, about Daniel Bland, at the *Bell*, should be placed under Bell Yard, within Temple Bar, which it concerns.

(2987)

Williamson's note (quoted from Noble's *Memorials*) under this token of the *Greyhound* in the Strand, should be omitted, for it concerns the *Greyhound Tavern* near St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street.

(2993) Thomas Langton's token at the Mitre in the Strand.

1641. "Thomas Langton at y^e Miter in y^e Strond" (Vintners' poll). This shows that he kept the *Mitre* for a long time. He was Master of the Vintners' Company in 1656-1657.

Temple Bar.

(3031) *Obv.* AT · S · DUNSTANS · TAVERN = I. A. B.

Rev. AT · TEMPLE · BARR = I. A. B.

Jonathan Barford, vintner, kept the *Devil Tavern* (St. Dunstan's West Wardmote lists, &c.). He succeeded John Wadlow at the *Devil* and *St. Dunstan's* in 1660. In a parish poll list of 1666, he paid for his wife, three apprentices, one journeyman, and two maidservants.

(3044) *Obv.* THE · ROSE · TAVERN = a rose.

Rev. WITHOUT · TEMPLE · BARR =
R. E. H.

1641, Vintners' poll: "Richard Hyat at y^e Rose at temple barre." He was a warden of the Vintners' Company in 1656-1657, when the *Rose* was visited. Several visits were also recorded there in 1644-1645.

(3062)

1641. "John Winslow at y^e Palsgrave without Temple barr" (Vintners' poll).

(3070) *Obv.* RICHARD · TAYLER = HIS · HALF · PENY.

Rev. AT · TEMPLE · BARR = R. A. T.

Williamson overlooks the interesting fact that Richard Taylor kept the *Devil Tavern* by Temple Bar. Sir Thomas Rawlinson, son of Pepys's friend Dan Rawlinson (of the *Mitre Tavern* in Fenchurch Street), married his daughter. He succeeded Jonathan Barford in 1667-1668, and heads the lists of vintners in St. Dunstan's West, 1678-1681. (See also No. 3031.)

Thames Street.

(3091) *Obv.* THOMAS · ELKIN · AT · THE = a cock and hen (*or magpie*).

Rev. IN · THAMES · STREET · 1667 = HIS · HALF · PENY · $\frac{1}{2}$.

Williamson's description of Elkin's sign as "a cock and hen" rather spoils the issuer's little pun. He was a cook, and his sign was the *Cock and Pye*. The position of his eating-house is given in a deed in the Hustings Rolls, 1668, concerning a parcel of ground "in Thames Street at the south-west corner of Suffolk lane, in the parish of Great Allhallows, on which before the Fire stood two messuages, one called 'the Cock and Pye', occupied by Thomas Elken, cooke"—H. R. 840(12). The churchwardens of All Hallows the Great paid Mr. Elkin for a dinner in 1671.

"THE OLD SWAN."

(3092) Richard Evans at the Old Swan in Thames Street.—R. E. E. 1^D.

This token has a view of London, near the bridge.

(3093) Richard Evans at y^e Ould = (a swan).—In Thames Streete. 1668. His halfe peny.—
R. S. E.

Below these tokens Williamson (who repeated Burn's statements) gives a long note on the *Old Swan* tavern, at which he assumed these tokens were issued. There are several errors in this note, which have been repeated in various other works. There is no evidence that an *Old Swan* tavern of any note stood near the Old Swan Stairs: the latter were very important, and the references to "the Old Swan" by Pepys and other writers were to the Stairs, or the lane leading to them. Mr. Wheatley, in his edition of the *Diary*, gives nearly forty references to the *Old Swan*, which he assumed to be the tavern, but which really were to the Stairs. Burn, in his notes, supposes that the *Swanne on the Hope*, in Thames Street, which was bequeathed by Rose Wrytell in 1323, was the *Old Swan* with which we are concerned: but her Swan was near Billingsgate, in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill. He adds: "Stow, in 1598, mentions the Old Swan as a great brewhouse": which is true enough, but the brewhouse he referred to was near the western boundary of Vintry Ward.

Richard Evans, who issued the two tokens, was a baker in or near Old Swan Lane, in St. Lawrence Poultney parish. In the MS. Churchwardens' accounts of that church I find several references to him: 1663. "Paid to Evans y^e Baker for half years Bread for the poore." In 1666, "Paid Richard Evans for Bread", and "Paid Richard Evans Baker in full—£1". I noted a later payment to him in 1676.—So much for Evans's tokens. Having thus done my best to destroy the modern fiction of a famous *Old Swan Tavern* (to which, in my wide researches, I have found no reference, though it is not unlikely that a house of refreshment with that sign existed, perhaps on the site of the public-house removed not many years ago), it will be fitting to give here some records of the real *Old Swan*. This was (like the one farther west mentioned by Stow) a brewery, and belonged to the church of St. Peter's, Westcheap, by the gift of Nicholas Farendon or his heirs. In the MS. accounts of that church, there is a copy of a deed of 1392—"Grant by Richard Weston, goldsmith, and Rose his wife, cosyn and heir of Nicholas Farendon, goldsmith", of "the tenement and kaye thereto sette in Temes strete in the parish of Seynt lawrence in the Est called the Pultenye". The later accounts show that this

was the *Old Swan*, for which an annual rent was paid to the church. In 1553-1554, there is a valuation "of the contents of the vesselys" [&c.] within the tenement and brewhouse "callyd the olde Swan yn Temystrete belongyng to the parysh church of Seynt Peter". In 1582, and other years, James Wylkynson, brewer, paid £10 rent for two tenements in Thames Street—and so on. The church of St. Lawrence Jewry also owned property in the "Old Swan" (i.e. the district near the Stairs).

Peter Cunningham, in his invaluable *Handbook for London*, 1849, did not give any support to the theory of a famous *Old Swan Tavern*. It is fair to mention this, for his sterling work is somewhat overlooked to-day. (See also token 2008, New Fish Street.)

(3122)

Richard Spire's sign is described by Williamson as a *Garter*. The sign was *The Hoop*, or the *Golden Hoop*, which was demised to him in 1666, and he was there after the Fire.

Tower Street.

(3204) *Obv.* AT · THE · SALUTATION = two men saluting.

Rev. TAVERNE · IN · TOWER · S^r = T.E.B.

The issuer was Thomas Brockett—(the churchwardens' accounts of St. Dunstan's East, and other sources).

(3207)

R. C. at the *Black Swan*, 1659, was perhaps Richard Cox—(accounts of All Hallows, Barking).

(3225) *Obv.* THE · DOLPHIN · TAVERN = a dolphin and a bear.

Rev. IN · TOWER · STREETE · 1650 = R. E. W.

This tavern is known to all lovers of Samuel Pepys (and they are countless to-day) as the house to which he constantly resorted, and where he was always pretty sure to find one

or other of "the two Sir Williams" (*Batten and Penn*). I was perhaps more desirous, on this account, to discover the name of this issuer than of any other in the series. In *Subsidy lists* of Tower Ward, and in the Vestry Minutes of St. Dunstan's East, I found a *Richard Weedon* frequently mentioned, in 1648-1667. He and Elizabeth his wife had a large family baptized at St. Dunstan's from 1653 to 1662, and I suspected that he was the *R. W.* of the token. This suspicion was confirmed by the following discoveries. Richard Weedon is mentioned in lists of the Vintners' Company in 1652 and 1662. In 1669-1670, he was a Warden of the Company, and the Company held six dinners at his house (one being after the Southwark Fair Search). The following extract from the *London Gazette*, January 27 to 31, 1669-1670 (which seems to have escaped the notice of *W. and B.*), finally settles the matter: "A gilt-graved watch . . . lost between seven and eight of the clock on Saturday night, betwixt Tower-street and Ludgate-hill. If any person . . . shall bring the said Watch to Mr. Weedon at the Dolphin Tavern in Tower street, they shall have Three pounds for their pains." Pepys records a great many visits, with amusing details, to *The Dolphin*, which stood by the south-west corner of Mark Lane in Tower Street.

(3226) *Obr.* AT · THE · ROSE · TAVERN = a rose.

Rev. IN · TOWER · STREET = W. M. W.

This tavern, which stood opposite the south door of All Hallows, Barking, was patronized by the churchwardens of that church. Rose Court is still at No. 41, Tower Street. The issuer was no doubt William Wormell, mentioned in lists of Vintners in 1653 and other years. A terrible explosion destroyed the *Rose* in 1649, and in the account of this, in a contemporary pamphlet, the vintner there is called Mr. *Walter Wormewell*. William Wormell was Master of the Vintners' Company in 1658-1659.

ADDENDA.

(1641) The King is crowned, not in a bonnet.

(1658) The *Bull Head* in Leadenhall Market. 1657.

W. queries whether the initials *A.D.* stand for Anno Domini. The initials on my specimen are clearly *A.O.* Mr. Gilbert, in his valuable list of unpublished tokens,

describes a penny token by Alice Oneley at the *Bull's Head* in Leadenhall Street, which, with Oneley substituted for Clarke, is precisely the same as W.'s (1656). Probably both tokens belong to Alice Onely. This *Bull's Head* adjoined the important *Bull Inn*, opposite Leadenhall Market. In 1660, Thomas Hinde sold a half part of the capital messuage or inn called the *Black Bull*, situate over against Leadenhall, and of two adjoining tenements, one "heretofore called the George and since by the name of the 'White Bull head', heretofore in the occupation of John Butteris, Cooke, and now of widow Onely". (H.R. 335. 29, 34.)

(1664) Leadenhall Street. W. suggests that the device is a unicorn. On my specimen it is clearly so, with a cock facing the unicorn.

(1853) Williamson's note suggests that this token was issued at the *Bell Savage Inn*. Its issuer evidently kept a coffee-house by the inn entrance. Tokens were very rarely issued by important innholders.

(2722-3) The initials on both tokens (which I possess) clearly read I.S.B., but they are from different dies, and the arrangement of the feathers is different. 2722 should follow 2723.

(2795) The bust on this token is of Ben Jonson, and the legend round the head is: "Imort . . . al Ben". The last part is read by W. as "al Peny" (doubtless from a poor specimen). There is another token (2808) of the *Ben Jonson's Head* in Shoe Lane.

(2841) The legend reads:—"Francis Blechinden at the . . . Tavern", &c.

K. ROGERS.

MISCELLANEA.

THE SCULPTOR HERMOGENES OF CYTHERA.



FIG. 1.

PAUSANIAS (ii. 2. 8), in his description of the works of art distributed round the market-place of Corinth, mentions that near the temple of Tyche "there is built a water basin: at the basin is a bronze Poseidon and under the feet of Poseidon is a dolphin spouting water, and there is a bronze Apollo called Clarios and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera".

These statues of Apollo and Aphrodite appear together on a coin of Roman Corinth:

IVLIADO MNAVC Bust r. of Julia Domna draped.

Rev. COR C L I On the left, statue of nude Apollo r., his r. hand upon his head, his l. arm before him bent at elbow and wrist, l. leg bent; on the right, statue of Aphrodite, nude, facing, r. hand raised to hair, l. hand held over abdomen, r. leg bent.

Æ 25 mm. Dies $\uparrow\downarrow$. British Museum. [Fig. 1].

Pausanias may have been rightly informed as to the epithet "Clarios" applied to the statue of Apollo at Corinth, but this was no copy of the cult-statue of Apollo Clarios worshipped at Colophon, for the coins of the last-named city depict a seated god.¹ This Apollo has rather the indolent pose of the hellenistic statue of Apollo Lykeios² at Athens, though his legs are not crossed like those of the Athenian figure. But the best parallel to this Corinthian Clarios can be found on coins of Apameia in Bithynia:³

¹ B.M.C., *Ionis*, Pl. VIII. 11, 14.

² B.M.C., *Attica*, Pl. XVIII. 2.

³ Waddington, *Rec. Gén.*, l. ii, p. 252, 40 of Claudius, and p. 254, 52 of M. Aurelius.

which depict a nude standing god holding a patera, his identity assured by the inscription which reads in one instance ΚΛΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ, in another ΑΠΟΛΛΙΝΙ CLAR.

In the supplement to their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 156, 25, Imhoof and Gardner thought that the Corinthian Apollo Clarios was probably to be identified on a coin of Severus in Berlin (*l. c.*, Pl. FF, xiv) depicting the god holding plectrum and lyre and leaning on a snake-entwined tripod. It is now clear that the Berlin coin must represent some other statue of the deity, possibly the one mentioned by Pausanias (ii. 3. 3)⁴ as standing near Pirene.

The juxtaposition of Apollo and Aphrodite on the coin justifies their identification with the two figures by the basin with Poseidon who should perhaps be recognized on an almost contemporary coin of Commodus in the British Museum.⁵ Now concerning the sculptor of this Aphrodite, Hermogenes of Cythera, Brunn⁶ advanced a theory that he flourished in the period before the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, but the identification of the goddess on this coin would seem to preclude so early a date for the sculptor. The standing nude Aphrodite handling her hair, a type many versions of which weary the eye in the galleries of museums,⁷ is of late date, in fact of the period between the first century B. C. and second A. D.

C. T. SELTMAN.

⁴ Not ii. 3. 2 as quoted by Imhoof and Gardner, *l. c.*

⁵ B.M.C., *Corinth*, Pl. XXI. 2. This may, however, be the Cenchræan statue.

⁶ *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, p. 522, quoted by Sir J. G. Frazer, *Comm. on Paus.*, ii, p. 22 f. Cf. also Pfuhl in Pauly-Wiss. *R.E.*, VIII. i, 878, *Hermogenes* 25.

⁷ It is enough to refer the reader to S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, i, pp. 327, 329, 331, 332, 334, 336, 337, 338.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BITHYNIA UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.



FIG. 2.

The co-ordination of evidence derived from ancient authorities, inscriptions, and coins has a certain attraction which prompts this note.

Bithynia and Pontus together became a Senatorial Province in 27 B. C., being governed by a proconsul under whom was a quaestor. The names of these Roman proconsular governors appear upon the bronze coins of various Bithynian cities. Our immediate concern is with the reigns of Claudius and Nero, and with issues of Nicaea, Nicomedia, Heracleia, and the *Commune Bithyniac*. During these twenty-seven years, A. D. 41-68, six successive proconsulships are recorded on the extant coins.

All references are to Waddington-Babelon-Reinach, *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, abbreviated below as R.G.

(i) L. MINDIUS BALBUS *sive* POLLIO.

Claudius succeeded to the Empire on the 24th of January A. D. 41, and to that same year are assigned the handsome sestertii of the Roman mint bearing the imperial portrait and, on the reverse, a large oak-wreath, encircling an inscription.¹ To the first years of Claudius must, therefore, be assigned the Bithynian proconsulship of L. Mindius Balbus Pollio,² who issued at Nicaea and Nicomedia large

¹ H. Mattingly, B.M.C., *Rom. Emp.*, i, p. 181, 115; Pl. 34, 9.

² Possibly during his proconsulship he changed his cognomen from Balbus to Pollio, perhaps on being adopted into another family. In Nicaea he is only Balbus, at Nicomedia first Balbus then Pollio (cf. Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen*, p. 63), in the *Com-*

coins (R.G. I. iii, p. 400 and p. 516) in imitation of the Roman prototype. Three varieties (and eleven specimens) are listed for the former mint; five varieties (and ten specimens) for the latter; five varieties (and seven specimens) struck in the name of the *Commune* (R.G. I. ii, p. 235 f.): thus twenty-eight coins with the name of this proconsul are on record.

(ii) C. CADIVS RUFVS.

Of this proconsul there are recorded nine varieties struck at Nicaea (sixteen specimens); two specimens minted in Nicomedia and one specimen of the *Commune*, so that nineteen specimens are listed (R.G. I. iii, p. 400 f. and p. 517; and ii, p. 236). Of the total twelve varieties five have the head of Messalina, who met her end in A.D. 48, from which fact it may be concluded that Cadius Rufus was governor by about A.D. 46. In A.D. 49 he had left Bithynia, for in that year, according to Tacitus (*Annals*, xii. 22) he was put on his trial in Rome and condemned for extortion in his province. Tacitus has a reference to another Roman official who was on service in the province of Pontus and Bithynia in the same year. This was a procurator, Junius Cilo, who received the surrender of the rebel Mithridates, ex-king of the Bosphorus (*Annals*, xii. 21). Cilo, of whom more below, received as reward for his services the consular insignia.

(iii) TI. PASIDIENVS FIRIVS.

No coins issued by this proconsul depict Messalina, and it is probable that he succeeded Cadius Rufus and may have held the governorship until the death of Claudius in A.D. 54. His name appears on two varieties (twelve specimens) of the Nicaean and on two varieties (six specimens) of the Nicomedian mint (R.G. I. iii, p. 400 and p. 517), eighteen specimens being on record.

(iv) P. ATTIVS LACO.

P. Attius Laco took up the administration of Pontus and Bithynia either in 54, the year of Nero's accession, or in

*mun*e he is Pollio. More probably his full name was L. Mindius Balbus Pollio, and the die-cutters, failing to find space for his whole name, left out either the last or last but one.

the following year. Three varieties (eight specimens) are known of Nicaea, two varieties (two specimens) of Bithynian Heracleia (R.G. I. iii, p. 402; I. ii, p. 359), in all ten specimens with his name.

Not the least interesting of his coins is one (*l.c.*, iii, p. 402, no. 38) which answers to the following description :

Obv. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ

Youthful bust of Nero r.

Rev. ΕΠΙΑΤΤΙΟΥ ΛΑΚΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ

[i.e. PROCONSUL]. Horned altar with flame between ΝΕ ΙΚ, upon its side ΔΙΟΣ | ΛΙΤΑ | ΙΟΥ. Æ 22.

The interest of this piece is increased by the discovery of the following coin, unknown to the authors of the *Recueil Général*.

Obv. Same die as last.

Rev. Type exactly as last, but legend ΕΠΙ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΧΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ [i.e. PROCURATOR]. Æ 22. My collection [Fig. 2].

There can be no doubt that this coin bears the name of the same Junius Cilo who had in A. D. 49 been Procurator of Pontus and Bithynia and had been rewarded with consular insignia. Since the piece cannot be earlier than A. D. 54 we must presume that Cilo continued as imperial representative in the province.

This would seem to be a remarkable, and, so far as I am aware, the earliest numismatic record of a type of dual control in a senatorial province, for we find the same obverse die employed with two reverses each bearing the altar of "Zeus, Father of Prayers", but the one having the name of Attius Laco, Senatorial Proconsul of Bithynia, the other that of Junius Cilo, Imperial Procurator in the same district.

The very high rank of the Procurators of Bithynia is proved not only by this coin,² but by the fact that Dio Cassius (lx. 33) speaks of this same Junius Cilo as "ruler" of the provincials, and by an inscription⁴ which shows

² And by certain others of the time of Vespasian; cf. R.G. I. ii, p. 236 f., Nos. 8 and 11, the former with name of L. Antonius Naso Procurator, the latter with that of M. Salvidius Asprenas Proconsul; types identical and therefore contemporary.

⁴ C.I.L., iii. 346.

that an imperial road was constructed by Cilo's successor in the procuratorship, C. Julius Aquila, who had been his companion in arms in the campaign of A. D. 49 mentioned above (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 21). It is to be hoped that a coin of Aquila may one day be found, now that we have one with the name of Cilo. The importance of the Bithynian procurators led O. Hirschfeld to put forward the suggestion that this province was during the first century of our era removed from Senatorial and placed under Imperial control. Brandis, however, has proved⁵ that this could not have occurred. The procurators, he thinks, were high financial officials entrusted with collecting the imperial revenues and with the management of any local imperial estates.

It is concerning this same Junius Cilo that Dio Cassius in the passage quoted has an amusing anecdote. Certain Bithynians came before Claudius to accuse Cilo of corrupt practices; and Claudius, deaf as he was, failing to hear the Asiatics in the noisy court, asked his freedman what they were saying. Narcissus replying that they were expressing their gratitude to Cilo, Claudius promptly extended his appointment for a further two years.

(v) M. TARQUITIUS PRISCUS.

No coins with the name of this proconsul show the head of Agrippina (murdered in A. D. 59) who appeared on some issued by his predecessor. The years A. D. 58-60 probably represent the period of his government, for in A. D. 61 he was prosecuted in Rome as Cadius Rufus had been before him. Bithynia was unlucky in her administrators. The records present us with seven varieties (eleven specimens) bearing the name of Tarquinius Priscus, all minted at Nicaea (*R.G. I. iii*, p. 402 f.).

(vi) L. MONTANUS.

Of this governor one coin alone is recorded (two specimens) minted at Nicomedia (*R.G. I. iii*, p. 518). He is presumably to be placed in the latter part of Nero's reign.

C. T. SELTMAN.

⁵ In Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, III. i, 527 f. It should be noted that Stein, *l.c.*, X. i, 1031 (Junius No. 66) takes Hirschfeld's view. The discovery of the absolute contemporaneity of Laco and Cilo evidenced by their coins with a common obverse die proves Brandis right.

REVIEWS.

Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the fall of the Western Empire (Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology). By H. MATTINGLY. London, 1928. xx and 300 pp. 64 Plates. 21s.

THIS handbook is divided into three great periods, i.e. the Republic, the Early, and the Late Empire. Each of these great chronological sections deals in its first chapter with the "external history" of the coinage, that is to say the money-systems, weights, metals and their fineness, denominations, mints, right of coining, administration, chronology; in its second with the types and inscriptions; in its third with the coinage in relation to the general life of the time; in the second book is added a fourth chapter on "The Provincial and Local Coinage". It is clear that we have in this arrangement the three aspects of the science of numismatics, viz. the economic, the archaeological, and the historical. To begin with the second of these, the discussion of the types, I confess that the surveys given of them in the second chapter of each book are almost new. When I wrote my small general treatise on numismatics in the *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (edited by Gericke and Norden, II², pp. 104, 108-10), a very short treatise but closely allied to Mattingly's book, I had, for lack of space, for the types to restrict myself to a few pages only; and the treatment of the types in Bernhart's great *Handbuch d. Münzkunde d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926) is divided into small paragraphs on the separate types, not written in current context, so that it serves only the student, not the general reader. Mattingly has been able to devote about 100 pages of continuous text—more than a third of his whole book—to this interesting matter, and has accomplished this task with his usual scholarship and ingenuity. May I suggest only one remark: the portraits of living men on Roman coins (pp. 74-5) seem, in my opinion, to be developed from the whole figures of living men in such scenes as Pl. VI. 62 (Sulla, p. 80), Pl. XVIII. 9 (Marius, p. 78), Pl. XX. 11 (Metellus, p. 80), &c., which I cannot regard as "subsidiary and indirect" (p. 75), so that the bust-portrait—an old Italian and Roman fashion, cf. the imagines of the ancestors—of the Roman coins has quite another source than that of the Greek coins, is not a real break in the tradition as on these and not so offensive to the

Republican feeling as there.—The legends, however, with which the author deals in the same second chapter of each book (p. 58, pp. 145–6, p. 292) seem to me somewhat neglected, especially in the second book (Early Empire), where we have so often the very clever apposition to the type of a short legend in the convenient form given to the Latins in their marvellous constructions of the participle, as in the form of the ablative absolute—like “Signis receptis, devictis Germanis”, or of the participium coniunctum like “rex Parthis datus”. The brevity and the monumental tone of these inscriptions—in conjunction with the mastery of symbolism expressed by significant attributes like the “pileus libertatis” in the hands of Libertas or by significant postures like Securitas leaning on a column—have made the personifications and allegories of the Roman coins examples for all time, and Louis XIV. when issuing his “Medallie History”, founded an academy especially to invent good reverse inscriptions—the “Académie des Inscriptions” so named to this day. I miss also an explanation of the imperial titles (very shortly discussed on pp. 144–6) with regard to the exact date of the coin, e. g. the reckoning of the TRIB. POT. altered under Nerva, the question of the *Princeps Inventutis* (p. 148, Naville, Cesano), the VCRIMDR of Vaballathus, and some words on the degeneration of the Latin language in later times, &c.

Passing on to the third chapter of each book, the historical one, I should think that they are the most successful parts of the whole: the author, already renowned as a good historian by his articles in the *Chronicle* as well by his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Early Empire*, &c., displays here the same clear insight into the real Roman life; read, for instance, his discussion (p. 89) on the pay of troops, founding of colonies, corn-distributions, public games, as the four leading motives for coin-issues, on the “serrati” as products of popular government in contrast to the debasement of coinage by means of the “subaerati” managed here and there by the optimate party (pp. 79, 97–8), his interesting remark, that the reference to family history is very often also a comment on current events (p. 58, cf. pp. 69¹, 77, 87) and so on.

In the first chapter of each book, the economic, there are naturally plenty of points on which I cannot agree with Mattingly's views, e. g. his dates for the beginning of the cast *aes grave* (p. 5; somewhat before 300 B.C.), for the Romano-Campanian silver (pp. 6–9; Pyrrhic war), for the sextantal as (p. 11; 245 B.C.), for the gold with the warriors swearing an oath (p. 15; 209 B.C.), for the coins of Helena

N. F. and Fausta N. F. (p. 235; A. D. 361; but they were in the great hoard of Cologne buried about 337); the explanation of the coin with Gallienae Augustae, and, on the rev., VBIQVE PAX as an (official?) satirical coin (pp. 158, 175) seems to me an obsolete one; the explanation of the obverse (the emperor disguised as Ceres), and of the reverse as "Programmünze", is obvious, and already indicated by v. Sallet in 1898; his opinion on the true meaning of the indications of value (XXI, VSV) on Aurelian's coins (pp. 128-31), on the centenionalis and the mark C MHC (p. 227), on the mints in the Early Empire as being independent organizations (p. 139), on the real existence of the *κοδράντης* and the *lepton* in late times (pp. 230-1; cf. Mommsen's rejection¹ of this and other combinations invented by Epiphanius, &c., simply to place the coins of the Bible in the monetary system of his own time), &c., seem to me wrong. But in matters so complicated, unanimity of opinion is as rare as a white raven.

There are also points in all parts of the book for which I wished that the author had consulted my own writings, e.g. for the lead-tesserae as private tokens taking the place of the smallest currency not provided by the government (pp. 121 n., 123), for the art of the Roman coins (pp. 178-80), for a general discussion of the countermarks (p. 199, cf. *Ant. Münzen Nordgriech.*, I, p. 604), for the question of SC (pp. 112-14, 131 ff., cf. Gercke-Norden, pp. 107-8), or the writings of other, especially German, scholars, like K. Menadier's on the trustworthiness of the *Script. Hist. Augustae* (p. 127, the "triens Salonianus"), like Dressel's *Nummi . . . saeculares* (p. 171), O. Th. Schulz's *Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme* (pp. 146-7, 157-8), Strack's *Halbierte Münzen*, Kahrstedt's *Frauen auf antiken Münzen* (p. 144), Cesano's *Nummi victoriatii* and *moneta enca in Italia nell'ultima età imperiale* (p. 255).

It seems interesting to compare in some degree Mattingly's handbook with Mommsen's great work of 1860 on the one hand, and with Bernhart's *Handbuch* on the other; Mommsen discusses only the problems of Mattingly's first and third chapters of each book, practically disregarding the types and legends, that is, he has about 700 pages against two-thirds of Mattingly's 300 pages; so, Mattingly can only touch upon most of the problems fully discussed by his great example; he can only give the results of his researches

¹ *Beiträge zur alt. Münzkunde*, I, 1851, pp. 126-7,

not the researches themselves; he can practically never give the literary or epigraphic sources, nor the modern literature on any point under discussion. This is the main difference, and it is not easy to bridge over, so that Mommsen's book is still indispensable for the scholar even where Mattingly deals with coins not known to Mommsen, with modern finds, or other new sources. Bernhart's book, on the other hand, is intended more to be consulted in the daily use of collectors and scholars, than to be read, so that it contains lists and synopses of types, mints, titles, emperors, and reverse legends, not taking great care to clear the way or to elucidate the problems of the coinage. Therefore the owner of Bernhart's book cannot do without Mattingly's and vice versa.

K. REGLING.

Berlin, February 22, 1928

The Roman Imperial Coinage, ed. by H. MATTINGLY and E. A. SYDENHAM; vol. v, Part 1. Valerian to Florian, by P. H. WEBB. London, Spink & Son, pp. 424 with 12 Plates.

A DISTINGUISHED authority¹ on the Roman Empire said not long ago in an article on Roman pottery:—"It would not harm the study of sigillata, which has hitherto been conducted in a somewhat abstract fashion, if it were to consider its objects as documents of ancient life more than has been the case. The usual systematic classification according to Dragendorff's numbers, the mechanical application of which was certainly never anticipated and still less intended by their inventor, has taken the life out of the study." If we substitute the name of Cohen for that of Dragendorff this dictum aptly describes the position in the study of the Roman Imperial Coinage—perhaps it is even more true of the latter. For this very reason I particularly welcome Webb's work because he—following the principle of the editors—has definitely broken away from Cohen's rigid alphabetical arrangement and catalogued the coins in the order in which they were originally issued.

After the brief and lucid introductory chapters on the history of the period A.D. 253–285, on the reform of Aurelian,

¹ Fr. Drexel, *Germania*, xi. (1927), p. 53.

coinage and mints, and the chief problems of the issues of Gallienus, we come at once to the lists of coins. The English custom of arranging the descriptions in columns is a brilliant success. Much space is saved by giving reference numbers to the typical reverse inscriptions and letters to the types of bust. Collectors will agree that it is a most desirable innovation that Webb regularly includes several varieties of bust under one and the same number, and thus facilitates reference still further. The countless variants of the "period of inflation", of military anarchy, go into relatively short lists, the utility of which is increased by the indices. The fine plates bring the material described still nearer the reader.

The book has an important mission: by bringing together the exceedingly scattered and very inaccessible special treatises on the issues of the period, it creates for the first time a basis upon which the collector can systematically arrange his material and study it with ease. This will undoubtedly act as a new stimulus to numismatic activity; amateurs may again begin to work each on his own small scale, and instead of the "not in Cohen" of doubtful value, we can now have unimpeded progress in the reconstruction of the activities of the mints. The vast labour which the author, with his long experience, has expended on his task will thus be rewarded. Here I can end my general notice.

The observations which follow contain a few modest suggestions for the next edition of the volume which is certainly to be expected, and are only intended for the very few students (they might be counted on one's fingers) who realize the tens of thousands of varieties of the coins of the Emperors from Valerian to Diocletian, and to the few historians who are able to appreciate them as valuable sources for history.

Webb distinctly states that the book is not intended to be a corpus and could not be one; it gives us, however, more than our previous stand-by, Cohen-Feuardent, while the *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum* on the other hand is not yet in sight, so that his book, as the most modern comprehensive work, must take the place of a *Corpus* for years to come. We must therefore ask whether the book is really qualified to fill this part. It will certainly be useful in this capacity, but I think the second edition will much better serve this purpose if Webb slightly remodels the book.

In the first place the special studies by Voetter, Markl, Rohde, the list of gold coins of the period from Valerian to Gallienus by Karl Menadier, Gnechi's *Medagliani*, and the important articles by Laffranchi, and the description of the

Venera find by Milani,² should be quoted exactly throughout, just as Webb has quite rightly done with Cohen. This would not overload the tables and, besides, it is amply justified, for it is not Cohen but these special studies that have formed the basis and usually supplied the material for Webb's classifications. The combination of several varieties of a type and the generalization deduced therefrom, which makes such a favourable impression on the *first* survey, is really rather an obstacle to the accurate collection of data for the chronological reconstruction of the issues. For it is not quite the same thing whether a bust is seen from the back or from the side, whether the Emperor holds his lance over his shoulder or holds it with the point forward as if in combat. The difference in the obverse types is the main criterion for arrangement of a series of types with identical reverses so that not a single stone can be rejected from the mosaic. In spite of typographical difficulties, I know no better means than Voetter's signs long ago introduced in the *Num. Zeitschr.*; Karl Menadier, however, attained sufficient accuracy with abbreviations.

It is much more important that not only the presumed dating and division under mints should be given for the complicated coinage of this period, but also separate arrangements of the individual issues, otherwise the great historical value of the series contained in these aspects of the coinage is lost.³ A popular work of reference must, of course, give only a brief survey of the issues and for the detailed numeration refer the reader to the alphabetical tables,⁴ while a *Corpus* must give primarily the chronological order, and full indices would contain the literature, metrological data, and provenances. The new basis to work upon which Webb has given us simply enables us to formulate these demands more clearly.

² The two last named are unfortunately not cited. I may here point out that the weights of the aurei, mainly taken from Menadier and Rohde, would only be of real value if the provenance of the specimens were also given.

³ Of what value, for example, is it to the historian when he (pp. 144 ff.) finds the issues of the city of Rome of the years 260-268 alphabetically arranged under 200 numbers if he cannot visualize from them the closed series of which this varied mass forms the components and which are so capable of revealing political aims and chronological data.

⁴ Otherwise, the mint-marks of different issues (or mints) may be easily confused (as here, p. 140, no. 118; p. 153, no. 156; p. 154, no. 270; p. 182, no. 580, &c.).

On running through the pages for a first time I would note the following suggestions for the next edition :

Pp. 21 ff. The activity of the mints of Viminacium (from Philip till 257), of Milan (from autumn 260 on), of Serdica (271-278 ; reopened for a brief period under the Tetrarchy), &c., has to be interpreted rather differently as we shall see below.

Pp. 28 ff. On the curious problems of the reign of Gallienus see now my articles in the *Z.f.N.*, 1927-1928. I will only observe here that the *AVG IN PACE* reverses of Salonina are not by any means posthumous issues, nor do they contain Christian allusions, but are reflections of the metaphors of the Emperor-Saviour idea. On the sons of Gallienus I may note that the *Fecunditas* reverses of Salonina of the two last issues of the city of Rome (c. A.D. 266-268) show, in my opinion, that the young Marinianus, who on the Berlin medallion of Gallienus (Cohen², no. 603) holds his *processus consularis* with his imperial father crowned by a Victory (A.D. 268), must be the third son of Gallienus, who was soon to be appointed Caesar but fell a victim to the fury of the Senate with the whole family. I hope shortly to show that the legionary coins were struck in Milan in the last months of A.D. 260, which is historically very important because the legions of the Rhine frontier are still *piae fideles* so that the usurpation of Postumus had not yet begun ; on the other hand the four legions without the title VII P(ia) VII F(idelis) :—X Gemina, XIV Gemina (Pann. Sup.), XIII Gemina (Dacia), XI Claudia (Moesia inf.)—were in rebellion under Regalian.—PIETAS FALERI and VIRTUS FALERI (the former struck not in Rome but in Milan, the latter not in Siscia but in Rome, all at the end of 260) cannot refer to Valerian, and elsewhere also FALERI clearly stands for "Gallieni" whose *signum* the name Falerius must be. The *Iuppiter crescens* of the one type, like the many reverses of the Caesars with IOVI CRESCENTI, and of Gallienus with PIET SAECULI, LAETIT TEMP, represents the heir apparent as the young Jupiter, as the wondrous child who inaugurates the new golden age to be introduced by the Regent. The bronze coins with GENIVS PR—INT URB clearly show the style of the Roman mint in the last period of Gallienus, and do not belong to the unhistorical interregnum of the *Historia Augusta* before the election of Tacitus, &c.

As to the coins of Valerian of the mint of Rome, I find nothing essential missing, except that on p. 49, no. 142 has COS III instead of II. I also know of an important third brass of A.D. 258 with PM TRP VI COS IIII PP (Sol left with

whip) in Zagreb. The coins which Webb, p. 54, nos. 207-227 and pp. 90-91, nos. 287-301 following Voetter, *N.Z.* xxxiii, p. 102 f., attributes to Viminacium are rather the first issues of Antioch, as Lafranchi⁵ (*Riv. Ital.* 1908, 199 ff.) showed and Voetter (*N.Z.*, 1912, p. 166) acknowledged.

The coins which Webb (following Voetter, *N.Z.*, xxxii, pp. 138 ff.), (pp. 56 ff., nos. 231 ff., and pp. 98 ff., nos. 373-411, p. 114, nos. 58-61) attributes to Milan, belong on the other hand to Viminacium (except Webb, 374, 380, 400, 411, which are really of Milan), as Lafranchi (l. c.) has shown and were struck in the years 253-257. Antioch (pp. 59 f. and 102 ff.) thus drops completely out. The subdivision of the Asiatic issues which Voetter proposed in *N.Z.*, 1912, pp. 165 ff. has, rightly, not been followed by Webb; I am, however, convinced that the reverses with *SPQR* enumerated by Voetter, *N.Z.* xxxiii, p. 107 ff., represents the first issue of Cyzicus.

The following are also lacking from Antioch, for example:

1. Second Brass: *AEQVITAS AVGG* * *IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.* Bust with palud. r. facing, laureate (Cornaggia).
2. Gold. *P M T R P III COS III P P.* Emperor sacrificing r. — *IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.* Bust in palud. r. (Brit. Mus.⁶)
3. Gold. *P M T R P III COS III P P.* Emperor sacrificing r. *IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.* Bust in armour r. (Budapest).
4. Billon. *PROVIDENTIA AVG* standing l. with patera and cornucopiae. *SALONINA AVG.* diad. bust on crescent (Voetter), &c.

The splendid silver medallion of this dynasty, p. 63, was struck in Lugdunum, as is evident from a comparison with *N.Z.*, 1912., pl. iv, no. 1.⁷

Another noble piece in the Medagliere Milanese (p. 77, no. 106) was struck not in Rome, but in Viminacium, and is not "bareheaded" but shows a diadem for the first time on a Roman coin, which makes it of considerable historical importance.⁸ Webb, p. 77, no. 108.—Gallienus, Cohen².

⁵ *I diversi stili*, &c. V; *Le monete degli imperatori Valeriano e Gallieno coniate a Viminacium e ad Antiochia*.

⁶ The latter are inaccurately described on p. 40, 28-9 and attributed to Rome.

⁷ The elements of this style of portrait belong to Viminacium from which the engravers came.

⁸ The fact that it is only a simple riband and is not studded with gems as later with Constantine is of no importance. This escaped Gnechi, who published it from the Brera Collection. This diadem is assimilated to the diadems of the Hellenistic rulers as is the head

224. also is not of Rome, cf. *Zf.N.*, 1927, p. 202, note I. The gold medallion, Webb, p. 131, no. 14 (Brit. Mus.), is also of Viminacium like the silver of Salonina (Webb, p. 109, 17 = Gneecchi Med., Pl. XXVIII. 1).

The antoninianus (p. 128, no. 1) of the Voetter collection with CONSECRATIO (altar)—DIVO CAES Q GALLIENO is the Pembroke specimen and is undoubtedly genuine; it is a product of the mint of Rome. A most interesting problem, because it was issued just at the time of the death of Saloninus so that it must be attributed to him; Zonaras xii. 24 speaks of him as παῖς . . . ἡμῶν of Gallienus and as υἱός Γαλιῆνου so that the obverse is to be read DIVO CAESARI Q(uondam) GALLIENO and not Q(uinto); this solution is proved, too, by the important new obverse of Saloninus (Webb, Pref., p. vii) with P COR SAL GALLIENVS NOB CAE. Pp. 130 ff., nos. 4-6, 29-30, 32-35, 45, 57, 75, 91 are Milan work; no. 15 is false;⁹ nos. 38 and 58 as well as 115 with Pax walking are of Siscia; p. 137, no. 83, must read VICTORIA AVG III and not II;¹⁰ p. 144, no. 155 (P M TRP XVI (not XV) COS VII) and p. 155, no. 276 are also of Siscia; p. 167, no. 414 of Milan;¹¹ p. 170, no. 447 of Siscia; p. 79, no. 114a, is misinterpreted by Cohen: the specimen in Copenhagen clearly shows COS V on the obverse and was struck in Milan in A. D. 262, a very important piece.

On p. 179, 548 ff., we have the dated coins of Siscia collected. No. 548 is wrongly described; the number of the consulate is not legible on the original and should be perhaps v. I am about to publish a reverse with P M T P (as it should be also correctly given in Webb 549) C V PP of A. D. 262-263 which makes certain the foundation of the mint at this date. Of the copper coinage of Siscia the following partly unpublished types are lacking: ABUNDANTIA AVG, AEQVITAS AVG, DIANAE COS AVG, ORIENS AVG, IOVI PROPVGNATORI, MARTI PROPVGNATORI, NEPTVNO COS AVG SI, FELICITAS SAECVLLI, LIB AVG, ROMAE AETERNAE, FIDES MILITVM (signifer), VIRTVS AVGV and VIRTVS AVG with signifer, VIRTVS AVG (Mars), VICTOR AVG (Victoria walking r.), VICTORIAE AVG (seated), VICTORIA AVG with diadem flying. To Salonina of Siscia should also be added LUNA LUCIF (wrongly p. 198, no. 63 to Milan), VENVS VICTRIX and VESTA.

turned to heaven. Gallienus is here, I think, compared to Alexander the Great.

⁹ Cf. Laffranchi, *R.I.N.*, 1919, p. 187, and my article *Zf.N.*, 1928.

¹⁰ Cf. Menadier, *op.cit.*, p. 118, note 1

¹¹ As rightly stated on p. 179, no. 545.

I might also make a few additions to Claudius II, Quintillus, and Aurelian—of course I am not referring to mint-marks &c.—but here the enumeration is based on the thorough classification of Markl and Rohde so that nothing essential is lacking and the allotment to mints is in general correct (p. 225, no. 176 = p. 221, 131 is Milan). There is a gold coin of Claudius of Siscia in Agram with ROMAE AETERNAE; p. 266, nos. 8-9 are gold coins of Siscia (not Rome). Of Cyzicus the notable reverse of Claudius with VICTORIA GUTTICA (*sic!*) AVG SPQR is not noted. ROMAE AETERNAE (seated l.). FELICIT TEMP, VIRTVTI AVGVSTI, VIRTVTI AVG (Mars), FORTVNA REDVX AVG M | C are also omitted. To Siscia should be added of the coins of Aurelian the aureus FIDES MILITVM (Karlsruhe) and the antoninianus types CONCORDIA MILI (four standards as at Ticinum) CONCORDIA ILLV (Budapest), PAX AVGVSTI (seated l.). P. 292, no. 244, is also found with a seventh officina, which escaped Rohde also; on p. 294, no. 257, I do not find the SOLI INVICTO types without prisoners and with two prisoners.

The treatment of Tacitus and Florianus is the least successful; the ample material in the Kolb Collection in the Vienna coin-cabinet will have to be used for this series. Webb omits (or puts to Ticinum) a large part of the reverses of Siscia, e.g. for Tacitus, the types of FELICITAS AVG, CONCORD MILIT, PROVIDE AVG, MARTI PACIF, PROVIDEN DEOR, PROVIDENTIA DEORUM, VICTORIA AVG, PAX AVGVSTI (walking l.) SPES AVG, PAX AVG. The aurei with s c belong to Serdica.

The most notable omission from Florian in Siscia is VICTORIAE AVGVSTI VOT X,¹² but there are also MARTI PACIF, LAETITIA AVG, PROVIDEN DEOR, REDIVS AVG (Budapest); of the mint-marks I see none of the series p,s,t,q,v,vi.

For all these errors and omissions which I have hastily noted it is, however, not Webb himself that is responsible, but research in general. My object in noting them is to remove errors from and to fill up gaps in our common task.

A. ALFÖLDI.

¹² Naville, *R. IN.*, 1915, p. 190, no. 21, a variety also in the British Museum.

V.

PEGASOS STATERS FROM A SICILIAN HOARD FOUND IN THE PAST CENTURY.

[SEE PLATE VI.]

Two years ago the numismatic collection formerly preserved in Count Shuwalow's house was transported to the Ermitage and I obtained leave to study its Greek portion. This portion is not numerous (little more than 500 pieces), and apart from a considerable number of Parthian coins it includes coins of Greek cities, among which those of Italy and Sicily prevail, while Greece Proper is represented almost wholly by a large series of staters of Corinthian type, the so-called "Pegasi". The suspicion that all these latter pieces proceeded from a hoard was natural. Indeed Count P. Shuwalow about the year 1837 acquired in Sicily such a hoard, which was later published by B. Koehne.¹ According to this publication the find contained 144 staters of Corinth, one Corinthian drachm, 77 staters of the same Pegasos type, belonging to the colonies of Corinth, and three Siculo-Punic tetradrachms.² Unfortunately the hoard is not preserved in its entirety. Neither the three latter coins nor the Corinthian drachm are now present in the

¹ *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de S. Pétersbourg*, v. i, 1847, pp. 121 sqq. Cp. S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1925, p. 189. The numbers here are inexact.

² According to the description these were (L. Mueller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, ii, p. 74) Nos. 8, 22, 29.

collection. There remain about 140 staters of Corinth and its colonies certainly belonging to the hoard. It is especially to be regretted that some pieces, which I have not been able to find described in any catalogue, and which thus seem to be unique, are missing.³

Hoard of this kind are frequent enough in Sicily and South Italy. Their occurrence in this district was long ago observed,⁴ and is explained by the fact that the Corinthian staters, as well as Siculo-Punic tetradrachms, formed the principal medium of exchange on Sicilian markets after the close of the issue of Syracusan tetradrachms.⁵ There has been noted a great number of hoards, containing both kinds of coins alone or together with coins of Sicilian cities, in Sicily.⁶ They occur also, though in lesser number, in South Italy.⁷ Unfortunately, in all these cases we possess only short notes, mentioning the number of each group of coins, but without any accurate indication of varieties. The publication of Koehne seems to remain the sole detailed description concerning a hoard of this kind.

³ Such are: Koehne, *op. cit.*, Corinth, No. 23; Ambracia, No. 3; Anactorium, No. 5; Leucas, Nos. 28, 30, 31. Nevertheless it must be remembered that, as it will be seen below, several cases of inexactness can be noted in the list of Koehne, and thus the possibility remains that some of these unique pieces are due to similar faults of description.

⁴ Eckhel, *D.N.*, ii. 248; Raoul-Rochette, *Ann. d'Inst.*, 1829, 330; Idem, *Mémoires numism.*, Paris, 1840, p. 51, n. 3.

⁵ Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1874, p. 28; A. J. Evans, *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 151; G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 117; P. Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 415; W. Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, p. 27; cp. L. Tudeer, *Ztschr. f. Num.*, xxx, 1913, p. 237.

⁶ Cp. Noe, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 51, 116, 131, 134, 143, 150, 153, 181, 212, 213, 214, 233.

⁷ Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 49, 93, 133, 173.

Meanwhile the study of similar hoards would contribute very much to the chronology of Corinthian staters. That is the fact which induces me to revise the descriptions of Koehne in the light of the originals themselves, which have been preserved.

The following list contains indications of symbols and letters distinguishing the varieties (descriptions are given only of pieces which seem to be unedited), with weights of each piece, and takes into account the connexion of dies. References are made to the publication of Koehne (abbreviated K.) and to catalogues accessible to me.⁹ The order followed in the sequence of varieties is that adopted by the British Museum Catalogue—*Corinth* etc. (quoted as C.B.M.)

CORINTHUS.

1. K., p. 128, No. 10. Symbol trident. C.B.M., p. 11, No. 113. Wt. 8.31 gr. Obv. die, C.B.M., Pl. II. 19; both dies, J. Hirsch, *Catal.*, xxx, 1911, No. 501, Pl. XVI.
2. K. 129, No. 30. Bull's head facing. C.B.M., 12, No. 123, but Pegasos r.
3. K. 128, No. 3. Same symbol, but both types r. *Beschreibung d. griech. Münzen d. Akademie d. Wissensch. zu Amsterdam*, 1912, p. 94, No. 76. 8.43 gr. Obv. die, No. 5.
4. K. 130, No. 37. No symbol. C.B.M., 12, No. 124. 8.40 gr. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. III. 2.
5. K. 128, No. 1. No symbol, but both types r. Cp. C.B.M., *ibid.* 8.52 gr. Obv. die, No. 3.

⁸ I have thought it useless to note the axis, the die position varying constantly.

⁹ Unfortunately I have been unable to consult the third vol. of the *Traité* of Babelon all through the work, this book being absent from the library of the Ermitage. Likewise the second vol. of the Catalogue of the McClean Collection as well as that of the Luynes Collection have been inaccessible to me.

6. K. 130, No. 44. Fore-part of horse r. C.B.M., 13, No. 127. 8-52 gr. Both dies, C.B.M., Pl. III. 4.
7. K. 129, No. 31. Fore-part of an uncertain beast, perhaps horse, r. Cp. C.B.M., *ibid.*, but Pegasos r. 8-44 gr.
8. K. 129, No. 20. Fore-part of horse l. Cp. C.B.M., 13, No. 128, but Pegasos unbridled. 8-46 gr.
9. K. 129, No. 21. Same symbol. C.B.M., *ibid.* 8-45 gr. Obv. die, Egger, *Aukt. Kat.*, 10 Dec. 1906, No. 277, Pl. VIII.
 On both these pieces the head of the horse being in one case obliterated, in the other off flan, Koehne took the symbols for rudders.
10. K. 128, No. 7. Bearded serpent r. C.B.M., 13, No. 137. 8-54 gr.
 Koehne described the symbol as a lituus.
11. K. 128, No. 6. Thymiaterion. C.B.M., 14, No. 141. 8-44 gr.
12. K. 130, No. 46. Dolphin and cock feeding r. C.B.M., 14, No. 149. 8-42 gr. [Pl. VI. 1.] Obv. die, *Corolla Numism.*, Pl. XI. 11, and J. Hirsch, *Kat.*, xxxi, 1912, No. 325, Pl. IX. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. IV. 2.
 This specimen shows that the variety of stater is to be classed among those with two symbols collected by Sir Charles Oman in his class IX, type *b* (*Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 351).
13. K. 130, No. 45. Dolphin and cock r. C.B.M., 15, No. 153. 8-43 gr. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. IV. 5.
14. K. 130, No. 32. Dolphin and palmette. C.B.M., 15, No. 161. 8-50 gr. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. IV. 9.
15. K. 130, No. 34. Naked figure of Zeus (?) r. C.B.M., 147, No. 169^a. 8-49 gr.
 Both dies, *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XXIX. 37.
16. K. 129, No. 26 (2 specimens). Statue of Zeus l., and fountain in form of lion-head, r., spilling water. Cp. C.B.M., 17, No. 170, but Pegasos unbridled l. 8-47 gr. Rev. die, *Rev. num.*, 1907, Pl. XI. 1, and Egger, *op. cit.*, No. 287, Pl. VIII.
17. K. 128, No. 5. Statue of Zeus l. C.B.M., 17, No. 170. 8-43 gr.
18. K. 129, No. 25. Statue of Zeus r. Cp. C.B.M., 17, No. 172, but Pegasos unbridled l. and no dolphin on the rev. 8-44 gr. Obv. die, Egger, *op. cit.*, No. 286, Pl. VIII. Rev. die, *Rev. num.*, 1907, Pl. XI. 3.
19. K. 129, No. 16. Bucranium. Cp. C.B.M., 17, No. 174, but Pegasos unbridled flying l. 8-52 gr.

20. K. 132, No. 74. *Obv.*—Pegasus bridled with pointed wing walking l., the right fore-leg raised, beneath ♀.
Rev.—Head of Pallas l., surrounded by three dolphins; two to r., one to l.
Num. Chron., 1909, p. 347, type c. 8.39 gr. [Pl. VI. 2.] Both dies, *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XXVIII. 22.
21. K. 132, No. 76. *Obv.*—Pegasus unbridled with pointed wing flying l., beneath ♀.
Rev.—Head of Pallas l., to r. head of stag facing, double struck.
 8.47 gr. [Pl. VI. 4.] *Obv.* die, C.B.M., Pl. XI. 1.
22. K. 130, No. 33. *Obv.*—Pegasus bridled flying r., beneath ♀, double struck.
Rev.—Head of Pallas l., to r. hippocamp l., slightly double struck. Cp. Babelon, *Traité*, iii, No. 494, but the head of Pallas l. 8.39 gr. [Pl. VI. 3.]
- 23-4. K. 130, No. 39. A and bee in the field to r. *Hunterian Collection*, ii. 91, No. 32. 8.54 gr., 8.55 gr. Koehne mentions only one piece of this variety.
- 25-34. K. 131, No. 47 (25 specimens). A and wreath. C.B.M., 22, No. 219. 8.51 gr., 8.54 gr., 8.68 gr., 8.49 gr., 8.59 gr., 8.58 gr., 8.52 gr., 8.59 gr., 8.52 gr., 8.57 gr. *Obv.* dies, 25, 26, 27; *rev.* dies, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; *rev.* die, 26, C.B.M., Pl. IX. 3.
- 35-52. K. 131, No. 56 (40 specimens). A and Thessalian helmet. C.B.M., 22, No. 220. 8.64 gr., 8.55 gr., 8.55 gr., 8.57 gr., 8.60 gr., 8.55 gr., 8.59 gr., 8.53 gr., 8.54 gr., 8.60 gr., 8.52 gr., 8.60 gr., 8.62 gr., 8.46 gr., 8.64 gr., 8.50 gr., 8.40 gr., 8.46 gr.
 Both dies, 35, 36; *obv.* dies, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41; *rev.* die, 42, C.B.M., Pl. IX. 4.
53. K. 131, No. 56 (?). Thessalian helmet only. Cp. C.B.M., *ibid.* 8.63 gr.
- 54-8. K. 132, No. 70 (28 specimens). A and astragalos. C.B.M., 22, No. 222. 8.58 gr., 8.65 gr., 8.55 gr., 8.51 gr., 8.47 gr. *Rev.* die, 54, C.B.M., Pl. IX. 5.
59. K. 131, No. 55. Harpa and A. C.B.M., 22, No. 224. 8.57 gr. *Rev.* die, C.B.M., Pl. IX. 6.
60. K. 132, No. 75. A-A and wheel. C.B.M., 25, No. 242. 8.53 gr.
61. K. 132, No. 69 (4 specimens). A-A and mask of Silenos. C.B.M., 25, Nos. 244-5. 8.50 gr. *Obv.* die, J. Hirsch, *Catal.*, xxv, 1909, No. 1091, Pl. XIII; *idem*, *Catal.*, xxxi, 1912, No. 344, Pl. X.

62. K. 131, No. 54. **AA** and cuirass. C.B.M., 25, No. 246. 8-41 gr.

63. K. 131, No. 53 (3 specimens). Same letters and symbol, but both in the field to r. Cp. *ibid.* 8-43 gr.

64-5. K. 131, No. 79 (7 specimens). **A-A** and trophy. *Hunt. Coll.*, ii. 94, No. 57. 8-64 gr. and 8-54 gr. [Pl. VI. 5.]

On the specimen of the *Hunt. Coll.* the letter **A** is off the flan and the variety is therefore falsely ascribed to the series with **A**. As our piece No. 65 shows, it certainly belongs to the series C.B.M., 25, Nos. 242-6. Rev. die, Nos. 65, 66.

66. K. 130, No. 38 (2 specimens). Only **A-A** visible, the trophy off the flan, *ibid.* 8-57 gr. Rev. die, No. 65.

67. K. 131, No. 51. **A-A** under the neck, and three crescents in circle to r. Svoronos, *Journ. Intern. Arch. Num.*, xi, 1908, p. 259, No. 5. 8-55 gr. [Pl. VI. 6.] Koehne read the letters **A-M**.

68. K. 132, No. 77 (5 specimens). **Δ** and head of Helios radiate facing. C.B.M., 31, No. 289. 8-56 gr. Both dies, Egger, *op. cit.*, No. 317, Pl. IX.

69. K. 131, No. 61 (5 specimens). **E** and race-torch. C.B.M., 36, No. 326. 8-45 gr.

70. K. 130, No. 40 (2 specimens). **E** and bow. C.B.M., 36, No. 328. 8-54 gr.

71. K. 128, No. 14. (**E**)**P** and Nike r., carrying thymiatērion. C.B.M., 37, No. 333. 8-44 gr. Rev. die, *Rev. num.*, 1907, Pl. XI. 9.

72. K. 129, No. 28. **93** to r. under chin and same symbol. Cp. C.B.M., *ibid.*, but Pegasus bridled with halter loose flying l. 8-36 gr. [Pl. VI. 7.]

73. K. 129, No. 22. **Y3** and standing figure of Zeus (?) with thunderbolt (?) and fillet. *Hunt. Coll.*, ii. 90, No. 27 (rev., cp. C.B.M., 37, No. 338). 8-51 gr.

Koehne took the symbol for Heracles with club.

74. K. 128, No. 13. **EY** and tripod. Cp. C.B.M., 38, No. 339, but Pegasus with halter loose flying r. 8-39 gr. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. VII. 2.

Koehne read the letters **ΞY**.

75. K. 130, No. 36. (**Y**₃) and tripod. C.B.M., 38, No. 343. 8-42 gr. Both dies, C.B.M., Pl. VII. 5.

76. K. 129, No. 29. **Y**₃ **3**_T. C.B.M., 40, No. 349. 8-50 gr. Obv. die, C.B.M., Pl. VII. 4; Egger, *op. cit.*, No. 327, Pl. IX.

77. K. 128, No. 15. *Obv.*—Pegasus bridled with curled wing walking l.

Rev.—Head of Pallas r., to l. naked archer (Apollo?) with fluttering mantle on neck, standing and shooting l., above him Δ . 8.37 gr. [Pl. VI. 8.]

Cp. a similar symbol in the field to r., perhaps with the same letters, *Rev. num.*, 1907, Pl. XI. 8. *Obv. die*, C.B.M., Pl. IV. 13. *Rev. die*, Egger, *Catal.*, 7 Jan. 1908, No. 477, Pl. XIII. Both dies, Egger, *Catal.*, xxxix, 1912, No. 288, Pl. IX.

78. K. 131, No. 60. *Obv.*—Pegasus with pointed wing flying l.; the γ beneath is indistinct, and partly suppressed by the trace of a flaw in the die.

Rev.—Head of Pallas l., to l. Δ , to r. naked male (?) figure standing r. 8.46 gr. [Pl. VI. 9.] *Obv. die*, C.B.M., Pl. VIII. 1.

79. K. 128, No. 11. \mathbf{N} and ornamented trident. C.B.M., 42, No. 360. 8.48 gr. *Rev. die*, C.B.M., Pl. VIII. 2.

80. K. 131, No. 50 (9 specimens). \mathbf{N} in corn-wreath. C.B.M., 44, No. 372. 8.55 gr.

81. K. 131, No. 52. \mathbf{N} and three crescents in circle. C.B.M., 44, No. 373. 8.57 gr. *Obv. die*, K. Regling, *Samml. Warren*, No. 882, Pl. XX.

82. K. 129, No. 27 (3 specimens). \mathbf{N} and kantharos. Cp. C.B.M., 44, No. 374, but the head of Pallas r., and the symbols in the field to l. 8.44 gr.

- 83-4. K. 132, No. 63 (2 specimens). \mathbf{N} and Ares l., resting r. foot on rock. C.B.M., 44, No. 375. 8.48 gr. and 8.55 gr. *Rev. die*, 84, C.B.M., Pl. XI. 7; *rev. die*, 83, *Rev. num.*, 1907, Pl. XI. 12.

85. K. 129, No. 17 (2 specimens). \mathbf{N} and bucranium. C.B.M., 44, No. 380. 8.47 gr.

86. K. 129, No. 24 (2 specimens). \mathbf{N} and term facing. C.B.M., 147, No. 372^a. 8.55 gr.

- 87-8. K. 132, Nos. 65-6. Similar, but the head of Pallas l., and the symbol and letter in the field to r. 8.49 gr. and 8.50 gr. *Obv. die*, 87, 88.

89. K. 128, No. 4. \mathbf{NI} and Macedonian helmet. C.B.M., 45, No. 382. 8.45 gr.

90. K. 128, No. 9. \mathbf{z} and dolphin. C.B.M., 47, No. 387. 8.46 gr. Koehne probably took the letter for an \mathbf{z} .

SYRACUSE.

91. K. 129, No. 19. *Obv.*—Pegasos unbridled with pointed wing flying l. beneath ♀.

Rev.—..... ΣΙΩΝ to r., head of Pallas r., in the field to l. pinnate leaf. W. Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 65, No. 1. 8.26 gr. [Pl. VI. 10.] *Obv.* die, Giesecke, Pl. XV. 6; *rev.* die, *ibid.*, Pl. XV. 5.

The piece is lacking in Koehne among those of Syracuse, but there is no doubt, to my mind, that owing to the distinct ♀ of the obverse, he described it, *loc. cit.*, as a variety of Corinthian stater with the symbol palmette. The city-name on the reverse was scarcely perceptible before the coin was cleaned and it might easily have been overlooked by Koehne.

92. K. 142. No symbol. Cp. C.B.M., 98, No. 3, but no pellet on the reverse. 8.52 gr. *Obv.* die, C.B.M., Pl. XXV. 4.¹⁰

DYRRHACHIUM.

93. K. 138, No. 4. Dolphin to r. and club to l. Cp. C.B.M., 101, Nos. 4 sqq., but without letters on the reverse. 8.55 gr.
94. K. 138, No. 3. Dolphin to r., Ξ and club to l. C.B.M., 101, No. 12. 8.59 gr. *Obv.* die, No. 95, Babelon, *Traité*, iv, Pl. CCLXXXV. 12.
95. K. 130, No. 35. Dolphin to l., Ε and club to r. Cp. C.B.M., *ibid.*, but head of Pallas l. Cp. S. v. Schlosser, *Beschr. d. Altgriech. Münzen*, Wien, 1893, i. 44, No. 20. 8.49 gr. *Obv.* die, No. 94, Babelon, *loc. cit.* Koehne has wrongly ranged the piece under those of Corinth.

¹⁰ There is a third Syracusan Pegasos-stater in the Shuwalow Collection, which is equally absent among the pieces of Syracuse in the list of Koehne. Its type is Agathoclean. Fitzwilliam Museum, i. Pl. 101. 5 (same *obv.* die); 8.28 gr. It is impossible to suppose that such marked peculiarities of the type as the crest on the helmet of Pallas could be overlooked by Koehne and the stater confounded with any other variety. We must rather assume that the piece did not belong to the hoard.

AMBRACIA.

96. K. 135, No. 5. Cicada. C.B.M., 106, No. 23. 8.44 gr.
Obv. die, C.B.M., Pl. XXVIII. 2.
97. K. 135, No. 4. Swan l. to l., and sitting male figure
l. to r.; above, A. C.B.M., 108, No. 35. 8.57 gr.
Both dies, C.B.M., Pl. XXVIII. 14; Babelon, Pl.
CCLXXXI. 6.¹¹
98. K. 135, No. 7. A above to l., and caduceus to r. Cp.
C.B.M., 109, No. 49, but on the obv. Pegasus with
pointed wing flying l., beneath A. 8.34 gr.
99. K. 134, No. 2. Obv.—Pegasus with pointed wing
prancing r., beneath A.
Rev.—Head of Pallas r., in field to l., goose l.
8.36 gr. [Pl. VI. 11.] Obv. die, Babelon, Pl.
CCLXXXI. 1.
100. K. 135, No. 8. Obv.—Pegasus with pointed wing flying
l., beneath A.
Rev.—Head of Pallas (perhaps in crested helmet)
l., to l. above A, to r. spear-head (?). Cp. C.B.M.,
108, No. 42, and Schlosser, *op. cit.*, 75, No. 19.
8.34 gr. [Pl. VI. 12.] Obv. die, Egger, *Catal.*,
7 Jan. 1908, No. 501, Pl. XIV. Koehne took the
symbol for a rudder—indeed it is partly off the
flan and therefore indistinct, but it can hardly repre-
sent anything else than a spear-head. Cp. especially
the piece of the Egger Catalogue, cited above, with
the same obv. die, which has on the reverse a quite
distinct spear-head as symbol.

ALYZIA.

101. K. 133. Obv.—Pegasus with pointed wing flying r.
Rev.—Head of Pallas in helmet without crest
r., to r. round the edge AA.
8.45 gr. [Pl. VI. 13.]
The attribution to Alyzia is based only on the
letters AA, which seem to be certain, while of
the third letter there remains too little to guess
what it may be.

¹¹ Pieces from the same pair of dies are numerous, cp. Egger, *Aukt. Cat.*, 10 Dec. 1906, No. 349, Pl. X; *Coll. Hartwig*, No. 785, Pl. XIV; J. Hirsch, *Cat.*, xxx, 1911, No. 529, Pl. XVI; Hess, *Nachf., Cat. Samml. Loebbecke*, 1926, No. 271, Pl. V.

ANACTORIUM.

102. K. 136, No. 1. **A** and figure of naked Apollo with bow and patera r. Cp. C.B.M., 116, No. 8, but on the reverse the monogram under the neck is lacking, and instead of it a very small **A** stands between the symbol and the head of Pallas. 8.46 gr. [Pl. VI. 14.] Obv. die, Babelon, Pl. CCLXXVII. 4.
103. K. 136, No. 2. Laurel-leaf. C.B.M., 116, No. 16. 8.38 gr. Obv. die, C.B.M., Pl. XXXI. 14.
104. K. 137, No. 4. Scallop. C.B.M., 117, No. 23. 8.50 gr.
105. K. 136, No. 3. **AV** and tripod. Babelon, iv. 86, No. 170. 8.43 gr.

LEUCAS.

106. K. 141, No. 17. No symbol; types of archaic style. C.B.M., 125, No. 8. 8.29 gr. Obv. die, *Coll. Hartwig* (Jandolo e Tavazzi, *Catal.*, v), No. 789, Pl. XIV. Rev. die, Babelon, Pl. CCLXXIII. 6.
107. K. 141, No. 18 (?). **Λ** (very indistinct). C.B.M., 126, No. 11. 8.25 gr. Obv. die, No. 109, C.B.M., Pl. XXXIV. 4; *Num. Ztschr.*, X, Pl. III. 9. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. XXXIV. 5.

It is more than probable that the words in Koehne, *loc. cit.*, "au-dessous du Pégase une coquille", are to be read "au-dessus", &c., and he has taken for a shell the protuberance above the Pegasos-head, which is common to all the obverses of this die (see above), and perhaps represents the trace of a neighbouring type engraved on the same anvil.¹²

108. K. 141, No. 19. **Λ** to r., and **F** under the neck. Babelon, iv. 53, No. 66; cp. *Num. Ztschr.*, iii, Pl. X. 22, but without dots in the field. 8.31 gr.
109. K. 140, No. 7 (?). Obv.—Pegasos with curled wing flying r., beneath **Λ**, above a protuberance of uncertain form.

Rev.—Head of Pallas r., to r. grain of corn, distinct traces of incuse square. 8.41 gr. [Pl. VI. 16.] Obv. die, No. 10; C.B.M., Pl. XXXIV. 4; *Num. Ztschr.*, x, Pl. III. 9.

The piece is lacking in Koehne's description. Similarly lacking is another piece of the Shuwalow

¹² G. F. Hill, *Tecnica monetale antica—Atti e memorie dell'Ist. Ital. di Numismatica*, v, p. 238. Cp. *N. C.*, 1922, p. 38.

Collection (see below, No. 113), bearing the same symbol of corn-grain. At the same time there are in the list of Koehne two specimens (Nos. 7 and 27) which I could not find described in any catalogue accessible to me, and which correspond fully in the position of principal types as well as of the symbols with our two pieces, save that the symbol is an ear of corn. Can it be supposed that in both cases in the French text the word "épi" replaced "grain"?

110. K. 132, No. 70. Λ to l., phiale to r. C.B.M., 126, No. 15. 8-27 gr. Rev. die, C.B.M., Pl. XXXIV. 7.
The Λ on the obverse being obliterated and indistinct, Koehne has described this stater among those of Corinth.
111. K. 139, No. 2 (2 specimens). Bow. C.B.M., 126, No. 16. 8-57 gr. Obv. die, Babelon, Pl. CCLXXIII. 16.
112. K. 142, No. 29. Vine-branch. C.B.M., 127, No. 22. 8-33 gr.
113. K. 141, No. 27(?). *Obv.*—Pegasus with pointed wing flying l., beneath Λ , traces of a flaw in the die.
Rev.—Head of Pallas l., to r. corn-grain.
8-46 gr. [Pl. VI. 15.] Obv. die, Egger, *Catal.*, 7. i. 1908, No. 513, Pl. XIV. See above, on No. 109.
114. K. 139, No. 1. No symbol, inscription to l., round the edge, $\Lambda EYKA$ Cp. C.B.M., 127, No. 25; Babelon, iv. 63, No. 107; but Pegasus with pointed wing. 8-20 gr. Rev. die, Babelon, Pl. CCLXXIV, 21.
115. K. 140, No. 4. *Obv.*—Pegasus with pointed wing flying l., beneath Λ .
Rev.—Head of Pallas l., to l. ΛEY , to r. Boeotian shield, the whole type within linear circle.
Egger, *Aukt. Cat.*, 7. i. 1908, No. 514. 8-44 gr. Rev. die, *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, No. 514.
- 116-21. K. 141, No. 25 (7 specimens). Λ and caduceus to r. C.B.M., 129, Nos. 51 sqq. 8-26 gr., 8-45 gr., 8-41 gr., 8-41 gr., 8-44 gr., 8-51 gr. Obv. die, 118, Egger, *Cat.*, 10. xii. 1906, No. 366, Pl. X. Rev. die, 119, J. Hirsch, *Cat.*, xxxi, 1912, No. 415, Pl. XI. Both dies 120, Egger, *Cat.*, 26. xi. 1909, No. 366, Pl. XII.
- 122-3. K. 141, No. 26 (1 specimen). Same variety, but without the letter Λ on the obverse. 8-29 gr.,

- 8-47 gr. Koehne has noted only one specimen of this kind.
124. K. 140, No. 4 (8 specimens). Same symbols, but both types r. C.B.M., 130, Nos. 57 sqq. 8-53 gr.
125. K. 140, No. 3 (3 specimens). Same variety, but without the letter Λ on the obverse. 8-42 gr. Both dies, Egger, *Cat.*, 10. xii. 1906, No. 392, Pl. X.
126. K. 141, No. 14 (2 specimens). Same symbol. Obv. type l. with Λ . Rev. type r. without Λ . Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Ztschr.*, x. 124, No. 27. 8-37 gr.
127. K. 141, No. 15. Λ and Hermes tying his sandal r. C.B.M., 130, No. 61. 8-60 gr.
128. K. 141, No. 10. Λ , term and caduceus. C.B.M., 130, No. 63. 8-52 gr.
129. K. 140, No. 9 (2 specimens). Same symbols without Λ . Cp. *ibid.* 8-56 gr.
130. K. 141, No. 11. Λ and fore-part of lion r. C.B.M., 130, No. 64. 8-47 gr. Both dies, C.B.M., Pl. XXXV. 23.
131. K. 141, No. 12. Λ and ram's head r. C.B.M., 139, No. 66. 8-54 gr.
132. K. 140, No. 6. Λ and cock r. C.B.M., 131, No. 68. 8-51 gr.
133. K. 140, No. 13(?). Λ and an uncertain symbol, of which the most part is off the flan. The part remaining seems to be the head of a cock. Cp. *ibid.* 8-44 gr.
134. K. 140, No. 5. Λ and hippocamp. Cp. C.B.M., 131, No. 69. 8-48 gr. [Pl. VI. 17.] The symbol on this piece is distinctly a hippocamp; cp. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 259, No. 16.
135. K. 140, No. 8. Pentagram. C.B.M., 131, No. 75. 8-59 gr.
136. K. 140, No. 2. Λ and vine with grapes hanging over amphora. C.B.M., 132, No. 90. 8-52 gr.

UNCERTAIN.

137. K. 143, No. 1. *Obv.*—Pegases with pointed wing l.
Rev.—Head of Pallas r.
 8-53 gr.

Though the coin is without any inscription it is very close in style to the Syracusan Pegasi of the time of Timoleon (cp. No. 92). The coin seems to be restruck, and it bears projections at two opposite

points of the edge—a peculiarity especially characteristic of Sicilian coins.¹³

138. K. 143, No. 2. Same obverse. Rev. type I. 8.37 gr.

The style of the coin is rude and does not resemble any of the series of Corinth or of its colonies enumerated above.

I leave aside three other staters of the Pegasus-type in the Shuwalow Collection. One of them, though the symbol is off the flan, represents apparently a poor specimen of the series *C.B.M.*, Nos. 217-24. The two others are without any symbol and cannot be identified with any of the specimens in the list of Koehne. Their appurtenance to the hoard cannot therefore be stated with certainty.

The Agathoclean Pegasus-stater of the Shuwalow Collection, as noted above, hardly belongs to the hoard. Thus the latest coin of the hoard would be the piece *C.B.M.*, 26, Nos. 259 sqq., attested by Koehne¹⁴ as present in three specimens. The correctness of the identification is confirmed in this case by the fact that Koehne especially notices such a detail as the olive-wreath surrounding the helmet.¹⁵ If we assume the hypothesis that "symbols stand for mint-officials of lower rank, who were replaced at frequent intervals, perhaps annually, while the superior magistrate, who signs his name, remained in office for a longer period

¹³ G. F. Hill, *Tecnica monetale antica*, p. 213.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 130, No. 43.

¹⁵ One of the latest coins in the hoard would be also that of Leucas—our No. 136. But it is not precisely dated: Head (*C.B.M.*, p. 132, No. 90) puts it at the beginning of the last period ranging from 330 B. C., while Babelon (iv, p. 71, No. 135) refers it to the later part of the preceding period. Its presence therefore would not be contradictory to the date of burial attempted below.

of time",¹⁶ the absence in the hoard of any other stater marked with the letters **AP** would prove that the lot was buried shortly after the first year of the superior magistrate who signed with these letters was over. Head¹⁷ ascribed this series, together with that bearing the letters **ΔΙ**, to the period 338-300 B. C. Sir Charles Oman¹⁸ makes an attempt to date the series more exactly by bringing the wreath on the helmet into connexion with the victories of Alexander the Great at the head of the Hellenic world against Persia. If so, the burial would fall in the years 333 or 332 B. C.

On the other hand the absence in the hoard of staters signed **ΔΙ** or **ΑΥ** seems to confirm the chronological sequence **AP-ΔΙ-ΑΥ** of the later series proposed by Sir Charles Oman.¹⁹ As to the other series of the hoard, the most frequently occurring is that with the letter **A**—*C.B.M.*, Nos. 217-24. The number of specimens of Nos. 219, 220, 222 was very great, while the other varieties were also represented at least by one piece.²⁰ The series signed **A-Λ**—*C.B.M.*, Nos. 242-6²¹—is equally represented, though by a lesser number of specimens, in all its varieties and can on the evidence of the hoard be completed by the variety with the symbol trophy (our Nos. 61-3). All the varieties which belong to the series bearing the letter **N** save three (those with the symbols cock's head and quiver, and that lacking any symbol) are likewise present in the

¹⁶ Head, *C.B.M.*, XXIV.

¹⁷ *C.B.M.*, XXIX; *Hist. Num.*, 402.

¹⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 28.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁰ The variety *C.B.M.*, No. 217, which is absent now, is undoubtedly described by Koehne, 132, No. 73, as bearing the symbol patera.

²¹ Koehne, 132, No. 62 = *C.B.M.*, No. 243.

hoard and sometimes in a considerable number of specimens. There were also, to the number of 2-5 pieces for each kind, some varieties of the series signed with letters Δ and Σ .²² It would be natural to suppose that the series most frequently occurring in the hoard, i. e. those with the letters A and $A-\Lambda$, had been issued shortly before the date of the burial of the hoard, while the others, of which only a few varieties are present, would go back some twenty years. It is therefore surprising to meet among these latter a fair number—11 specimens—of a variety without any letter and bearing only a symbol—a figure of Zeus.²³ Unfortunately only one piece of this set still remains in the collection and the identification of the variety, especially taking into account the note of interrogation by Koehne, rests open to question. *C.B.M.*, 16, No. 168, which alone corresponds to the description, would require a date about a quarter of a century earlier.

Otherwise pieces of yet earlier date, but represented by single specimens, are not lacking in the hoard. Indeed the earliest Corinthian stater, No. 1, according to Sir Charles Oman²⁴ must be referred to the middle of the fifth century, while among the pieces of Leucas (Nos. 107-10) there is a specimen of purely archaic style, and no less than three of the transitional stage. As to the pieces of this latter city in general, it is worth noting the frequency of all varieties bearing the symbol caduceus.²⁵ This fact would suggest that the issue of these coins shortly preceded the date of the burial of the hoard and was more or less contemporary with the Corinthian series signed A and $A-\Lambda$.

²² K. 130, Nos. 40, 41, 61, 77.

²⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 338.

²³ K. 132, No. 67.

²⁵ K. Nos. 3, 4, 14, 25.

The suggestions and combinations expressed above are of course not to be taken as final conclusions. It would be risky to draw such from a single hoard. But unfortunately, in spite of the quantity of hoards of a similar kind, as noted above, accurate lists of their contents are altogether lacking.²⁶ The lot of Corinthian staters described by Svoronos²⁷ offers several points of comparison with our find, but its number is too small to allow any deductions, and besides its locality is unknown. I beg the permission of the reader to conclude this note with the wish that similar Sicilian hoards, considering their importance for the chronology of Corinthian staters, should be carefully registered and accurately described.

A. ZOGRAPHE.

²⁶ In consulting the "Bibliography" of Noe I have not been able to revise the reference to *Not. d. Scavi*, 1915.

²⁷ *Journ. Intern. d'Archéol. Numism.*, ix, 1908, p. 258.

VI.

THE AUTONOMOUS COINAGE OF SMYRNA.

(Continued from vol. vii, p. 107).

SECTION III.

[SEE PLATES VII, VIII]

THE latest issues of autonomous coinage at Smyrna are so distinct in various respects from those preceding them as to warrant their being treated in a separate section. In the bronze, the most noticeable change is an increase in the size of all denominations: also most of the types, as well as those of the tetradrachms, are modified so as to distinguish the new coins from the old. It is further noteworthy that as a rule each magistrate struck coins of several or all denominations, and, as will be shown later, there is reason to suppose that at this time only one monetary magistrate officiated at once, instead of two or three as before. All these facts point to a reorganization of the mint.

PERIOD XVI.

The coins which are placed in this period are very distinct from those of the previous and succeeding periods alike: they are of a transitional character, like those of period XV, but they are more nearly related to the following series, and can best be taken as marking the commencement of the Third Section of the autonomous coinage. There are no magistrates' names on the reverses, which is a fact of some importance for the dating.

Type J. The most salient feature in the Homereia is that the head on the obverse is in a wreath of laurel, which is a new element in the type. The work is always poor in both dies: the heads are of varying style, and look as if they had been roughly copied by unskilful artists from earlier coins: at least five different models can be recognized. Practically all the pieces are overstruck, only two examples out of those examined showing no traces of an earlier type; in all instances where the remains of the original type are sufficient for any identification, it appears that old Homereia were used for the flans, among them being coins of Apollonides Metrodoron and Apollonios Sepia.

Type M. The smaller coins with the Aphrodite type are also of poor work and uncertain style. The head on the obverse is a weaker version of that found in the preceding period, and is in a border of dots: the pose of Aphrodite is the full-faced one first adopted in that period, but differentiated from it by a short sceptre held in her right hand. Two of the three examples seem to be overstruck, but the original types cannot be discerned.

359. *No name.* Type J.

r. ↓ **IMYPNAION**

Amsterdam [Boissevain 76] (21.5 mm., 9.16 grm.): A [5360⁹] (22.5 mm. Mm): A [ΣK 1075] (19 mm. Nn): A [ΣK 1076] (21 mm. Oo): A [ΣK 1077] (22 mm. Pp): A [ΣK 1078] (18 mm. Qq): A [1910/1 KE 264] (21.5 mm. Rr): A [1908/9 A 10/11] (21 mm. Ss): A [1910/1 IF 219] (20.5 mm. Tt): A [1920 IE 428] (22 mm.): B (23 mm. Xx): B (19 mm. Yy): B (21 mm. Zz): B (22 mm. AAaa): B (20 mm. BBbb): C [Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 118] (21 mm., 8.77 grm. Vv): Gotha (three): K [Ram. 3] (22 mm. CCcc): K [Ram. 4]

(22 mm. DDdd): L [BMC. 116] (21 mm., 6.05 gm. Aa): L [BMC. 117] (22 mm., 6.46 gm. Bb) [Pl. VII]: Naples [8182] (20 mm.): O (22 mm., 9.17 gm. Jj): O (22 mm., 7.49 gm. Kk): O (22.5 mm., 8.31 gm. Ll): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 33]: O. New Coll. (22 mm., 8.80 gm. KKkk): O. New Coll. (ΙΜΥΝΑΙΩΝ) (22 mm., 6.46 gm. Llll): P [4167 = Mi. 921?]: P [4168]: P [4169]: P [4170]: P [4171]: P [4172]: P [4173]: V (21 mm., 8.82 gm. FFff): V (23 mm., 8.54 gm. GGgg): V (22 mm., 7.50 gm. HHhh): V (19.5 mm., 6.58 gm. JJjj): V. Schottenst. [3337] (21 mm., 7.90 gm.): W. H. Buckler (22 mm., 7.98 gm. Uu): E. T. Newell (20 mm., 8.86 gm. Gg): A. M. Woodward (21.5 mm. MMmm): JGM (23 mm., 7.88 gm. Cc): JGM (21 mm., 7.23 gm. Dd) [Pl. VII]: JGM (23 mm., 8.25 gm. Ee) [Pl. VII]: JGM (21.5 mm., 9.24 gm. Ff): JGM (24 mm., 8.73 gm. Hh) [Pl. VII]: [H. Weber 6138 (21 mm., 6.59 gm. EEee)]: [Lavy 2310].

360. *No name.* Type M.

r. ↓ ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ

A [5370^B] (19 mm.): L [BMC. 34] (18.5 mm., 3.97 gm.): JGM (21 mm., 3.81 gm.) [Pl. VII].

PERIOD XVII.

In this, the final period of the autonomous coinage of Smyrna, the classification is simplified by the fact already noted that most of the magistrates struck coins of more than one denomination: of one, Apollonios, there are examples in all the series, both bronze and silver. This makes the issues of this period specially useful as a guide to the general arrangement. The variations in the types which are found in most denominations are noted separately under the different heads.

Type J. The Homereia of this period are marked off from all preceding issues by the introduction of a star in the field of the reverse. There is always a border of dots on the obverse. The size of the coins is considerably increased: they weigh on an average about fifty per cent. more than the older pieces, and the normal diameter is about a fifth greater.

(*a*) One group of these Homereia, with the names of Apollonios, Ikadios, and Phanes Kyndalas (which, possibly for convenience of spacing, is written Kyndalas Phanes on the larger denominations), is very distinct in style from the rest. The head of Apollo shows a close likeness to that found in group β of period XV, and was possibly designed by the same hand: there is the same roundness and softness, tending almost to excess in the direction of flabbiness: the hair on the crown is in flat successive curves, and the roll below the wreath is not quite continuous from the forehead to the knot. On the reverse the lettering is similar in its boldness to that of the group mentioned, but is not quite so regular. A point of difference between the Homereia of this group and all others of the period is that they have a star of six points only on the reverse, the normal number of points elsewhere being eight.

(β) Another group is formed by the issues of Leontiskos, Megakles, and Metrodoros: in these the work is fairly good, but the set of the head on the obverse is usually more angular, and thrown forward from the neck: the hair on the crown is more disordered, while the falling locks are stiff: only on two dies of Metrodoros does the square-set head occur, and these are the poorest in execution. The reverses also are less carefully done than in group *a*: the lettering is uncertain,

and the lines of the figure of Homer are scratchy: in particular the drapery is rendered by meaningless strokes, and the sceptre is not a continuous line.

(γ) Coins of Eukles have on the obverse a head generally similar in style to that of group β, but are differentiated by the introduction of an Α behind the head: also on the reverse, which though coarse is better executed than in the last group, there is a monogram in the exergue as well as one following the name in the field. These coins seem to stand by themselves.

(δ) The remaining Homereia of this period may perhaps be put in a single group: these are coins with the names of Athenagoras Korymb(as), Apatourios, Demetrios (with monogram), Epandros (with monogram), Zeuxis (with monogram), Iatrodoros, and Pollis Diodorou (the patronymic sometimes omitted or written in monogram). Both poses of head, the square and the angular, are found in these issues, but the work is generally poorer than that of the preceding groups, though a few good dies occur, and is more comparable with that of period XVI: the lines of the hair are often ploughed in, and the features sharp and ungraceful: the border of dots is usually coarse and irregular. The figure of Homer on the reverse, though clumsy, is not on the whole so bad. On two of the reverse dies of Iatrodoros, both used with the same obverse die, which may be by the same hand as those of group α, there is the six-pointed star characteristic of that group.

(ε) A coin, unfortunately in poor condition, has on the reverse a name of which all that is decipherable is --- IN ---. The only known magistrate of this period in whose name these letters occur in such a position is Kleinias, who struck types M, L, and K, and is

placed in group ϵ of these types: but the state of this coin does not permit of any certain conclusions as to its style.

Type M. The type of Aphrodite is varied from that on previous issues by the introduction of a bird (an eagle or a dove?) in the field on the right of the figure on the reverse: also there is a wreath of oak round the head on the obverse. The crown of the city-goddess has only three turrets, as usual from period XIV onwards: the figure of Aphrodite (with one exception) has the full-faced pose which first appeared in period XV, and carries a short sceptre as in period XVI.

(α) The three magistrates who struck Homereia of group α also issued coins of this denomination: and their dies are as in the Homereia characterized by a flabbiness of the head on the obverse: the hair is coarsely treated, and the locks falling on the neck appear to be hung on to the roll of hair above the ear in an unintelligent manner: the turrets of the crown have their side lines carried up, producing a hollow top. On the reverse, the lettering is large and coarse, and the bird is peculiarly bad.

(β) Only Metrodoros amongst the magistrates whose Homereia are included in group β is also represented by coins of type M. In these the angular form of the head, with sharp features, is again noticeable: the hair is very coarse: the turrets of the crown are solid and square-topped. In four of his reverse dies Aphrodite stands in the old pose, with head to right: in these the sceptre is in her left, not right, hand, and the bird stands up straight and is more like an eagle. The initial letter of the ethnic, in the only example where it is clear, has the form Z.

(γ) The coins of Eukles of this type resemble his Homereia in having an Α behind the head on the obverse and a monogram in the exergue of the reverse. The heads have no marked affinity to any of those on other issues of this period: there are two dies, both of indifferent style, and chiefly noticeable for the thin corkscrew-like curls set at a wide angle. The reverse is very carelessly executed.

(δ) In group δ, besides issues of Athenagoras, Apaturios, Zenxis, and Iatrodoros, are to be placed those of Protogenes, of whom no Homereia are known: Demetrios, Epandros, and Pollis do not seem to have struck this or any smaller denomination. As on the Homereia, there are two styles of head found in this group, some of the magistrates using dies of both styles: all alike show coarse and careless work both on obverse and reverse. The coins of Athenagoras, in six dies out of eight, have the ethnic on the left and the magistrate's name on the right, a reversal of the usual arrangement.

(ε) The coins of Kleinias stand by themselves: they are of small module and very poor style: the head on the obverse is exceptionally unpleasing, and in the general treatment suggests a copy of the worst dies of Metrodoros: the reverse dies are a little better, and resemble those of group α in the pose of Aphrodite, the lettering, and the nondescript bird.

Type L. On the coins with the type of the hand in a caestus, a border of dots is introduced on the obverse, as in the Homereia: on the reverse there is a single palm-leaf upwards, sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left: only one hand is shown, though a second

is occasionally suggested by a line following the contour of the hand.

(α) Coins of this type of Apollonios, Ikadios, and Phanes occur: on those of the first two the head of Apollo is a reduced version of that on their Homereia, but rather neater in appearance, as the flabbiness is not so evident in the smaller scale: on the reverse the palm-leaf is to the left of the hand, and Ikadios has ethnic and name on left and right respectively, reading upwards; on those of Phanes the head is larger and fuller, and the position of the legends is the normal one of ethnic on right and name on left reading downwards: the palm-leaf is on the right.

(β) As in regard to type M, Metrodoros is the only magistrate of group β who seems to have struck this type: and here again the description of the head of Apollo on his Homereia applies equally to the smaller coins, which are of fairly good execution and not inferior to the larger.

(γ) On the other hand, the coins of Eukles of this type are distinctly coarser in style than his Homereia, especially on the obverse, which has a poor representation of the head and a clumsy border. As in the larger types, there is an Λ behind the head on the obverse and a monogram below the hand on the reverse.

(δ) The magistrates of group δ who struck this type are the same as those of whom coins of type M are found: but their dies show some diversity of treatment. Those with the names of Athenagoras and Protogenes have on the obverse a fairly well executed head of square pose, with a rather irregular border of dots: on the reverse the position of the palm-leaf and legends is as on the coins of Ikadios of group α : the hand is

large and coarse. The issues of Apatourios and Iatrodoros have a rougher head of more angular pose, but with a neater border: the palm-leaf and legends are in the more usual position. Those of Zeuxis are generally similar to the last-mentioned coins, but with a neater head. There is also one specimen with a head closely resembling that on the coins of Apatourios and Iatrodoros, the name on the reverse of which is struck over another and not very legible: it seems to read ΠΙΔΑ, and will be discussed under type K.

(ε) Kleinias also struck this type, and, as in the case of type M, his coins are of very coarse work with an unpleasing head on the obverse: it rather follows the general style of that found in group α, but is much inferior. The reverse is also, as in his type M issues, better than the obverse.

Type N. The altar-type is rare in this period: few magistrates seem to have struck it, and only stray examples are preserved. There are no substantial variations from previous issues in the adjuncts of the type: no border appears on the obverse.

(α) Two specimens, from the same pair of dies, with the name of Apollonios are recorded, one with that of Ikadios, and one with that of Phanes, who here drops his cognomen Kyndalas. In each case the head on the obverse is virtually a reduced copy of that on the same magistrate's coins of type M. The altar on the reverse is of the hour-glass shape which first appeared in period XV, but with fuller and more rounded bowls above and below the waist.

(γ) There is also a single example of Eukles, likewise with a head very similar on a smaller scale to that on

his coins of type M: the corkscrew curls are very noticeable. The obverse is badly centred, so that it is not possible to say whether there was a letter behind the head: but there is a monogram below the altar on the reverse, as on his larger coins. The altar is of the same hour-glass form as in group *a*, but thinner and more stilted.

Type K. Coins with the lyre-reverse are also rare: only five magistrates are known to have struck this denomination, and of these only two are represented by more than two specimens. The type is differentiated from that of earlier periods by a large star on the strings of the lyre.

(*a*) The coins of Apollonios and Phanes (again without the cognomen) have a head on the obverse of the same style as that on their coins of types J and L, especially near to that of the L coins of Phanes. The star on the reverse has six points, like that on their Homereia. The work is fairly neat.

(*δ*) There are two specimens, from the same dies, with the name of Protogenes: the head is small and neat, resembling that on his coins of type L. The star on the reverse, which is also well executed, has seven points. To this group may perhaps be attributed also a puzzling set of coins, with a small but carelessly engraved head on the obverse, which may be described as an inferior reduction of the worst heads on the larger coins of Apatourios and Iatrodoros, and a very crude reverse; the ethnic is abbreviated to **IMYP**, which is the only instance of such abbreviation in this period. The magistrate's name reads **ΘΡΙΔΑ**, and on two specimens there seems also to be a **Θ** under the lyre: but as most examples are probably, and two

certainly, overstruck on earlier coins, the Θ may belong to the first type. The problematical coin mentioned under type L, which is likewise overstruck, belongs to the same magistrate. The star is eight-pointed.

(ϵ) The coins of Kleinias of this type, as in the larger sizes, have some exceptional features. The head on the obverse is of the same unpleasing description as in type L: there is a border, which does not appear on other issues of this type in this period, and it is a line border, not one of dots, which is quite exceptional.

Silver. In the silver coins of this period the reverse type of the tetradrachm is varied from that of earlier issues, as the lion is represented lying instead of standing. The technique of the mint workmen, as well as the art of the die-engravers, shows a deterioration which is very obvious on the larger coins: these are mostly struck on older pieces hammered out rather roughly, and retain clear evidence of the process. The classification of the silver previously adopted requires some modification here, as the drachmas of Sarapion, Epandros, and Iatrodoros have been moved up to earlier periods.

(α) The tetradrachm and drachmas with the name of Apollonios probably belong to the magistrate of that name who struck bronze of group α : the heads are of much the same style, though the dies of the silver are better executed than those of the bronze. The drachmas of Apollonios carry with them that of Hermagoras At(), which is very close to them in treatment.

(β) The obverse of the tetradrachm of Megakles has no marked affinity to any of the dies of the bronze: it is in some respects a flabbier version of the tetradrachm die of Apollonios in group α : but it is perhaps reason-

able to suppose that this Megakles is the same who struck Homereia of group β : no coins of type M, which would be the most useful among the bronze types for comparison, have been found with his name.

(δ) The obverse die of Herodotos, and two of those of Dioskourides, in their coarseness and crudity of work resemble the bronze of group δ , and the pose of the head is similar to that on some of the coins of Protagenes of type M. A third die of Dioskourides is much better, though it errs rather in the direction of too much roundness and softness of style: it is quite unlike anything else in this period, and looks as if the artist had tried to reproduce an earlier die.

(Group α .)

361. *Apollonios*. Type J.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**, in
ex. **ΙΩ**

G [Macd. 5 = Mi. S. 1447] (23 mm., 15.16 grm., Aa):
Gotha: K (22.5 mm., Ce): JGM (23 mm., 13.75
grm., Bb).

362. *Apollonios*. Type M.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**, in
ex. **ΙΩ**

B (19 mm.): B (20 mm.): B (18.5 mm.) [Pl. VIII]:
K [Ram. 47] (20 mm.): O (19 mm., 4.66 grm.):
P [4341 = Mi. S. 1517]: V (18 mm., 6.74 grm.):
V (20 mm., 6.43 grm.): JGM (20 mm., 5.88 grm.):
[E. F. Weber sale 2947 (19 mm.)].

363. *Apollonios*. Type L.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**, in
ex. **ΙΩ**

L (15 mm., 2.88 grm.) [Pl. VIII]: P [4282 = Mi.
1025].

364. *Apollonios*. Type N. *

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**

B (13 mm.) [Pl. VIII]: L [BMC. 65] (13 mm., 2.67 grm.).

365. *Apollonios*. Type K.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**

JGM (13 mm., 1.74 grm.) [Pl. VIII].

366. *Apollonios*. Tetradrachm.

Ab. → **ΙΜΥΡ**, bel. → **ΑΠΟΛΛΩ**
ΝΑΙΩΝ **ΝΙΟΣ**

B (35 mm., 16.31 grm.).


367. *Apollonios*. Drachma.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**

P [Wadd. 1937] (19 mm., 3.84 grm.): JGM
[= Benson sale 691] (19 mm., 3.86 grm.):
[Philipsen sale 2215 = ? Helbing's sale 9/4/13,
567 (17 mm., 4.05 grm.)].

368. *Hermagoras At()*. Drachma.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ**

L (19 mm., 3.72 grm.). 

369. *Ikadios*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΚΑΔΙΟΣ**

B (23 mm. Aa): K (23 mm. Bb) [Pl. VII]: O (23 mm., 10.05 grm. Ee): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34] (22 mm. Cc): V (23 mm., 11.24 grm. Dd).

370. *Ikadios*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΚΑΔΙΟΣ**

A [ΣΚ 1139] (19 mm.): B [= Imhoof, *Gr. M.* 348] (20 mm., 7.00 grm.): B (21 mm.): C [= Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 117] (18 mm., 5.98 grm.): Gotha: K (20 mm.): L [BMC. 40] (19 mm., 5.90 grm.):

L (BMC. 41) (20 mm., 5.16 grm.): O (19.5 mm., 6.11 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 35]: P [4345 = Mi. S. 1531]: JGM (19 mm., 6.42 grm.).

371. *Ikadios*. Type L.

l. ↑ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, r. ↑ **ΙΚΑΔΙΟΣ**

B (14.5 mm.): B (15 mm.): P [4289 = Mi. S. 1458]: JGM (15 mm., 3.63 grm.).

372. *Ikadios*. Type N.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΚΑΔΙΟΣ**

JGM (14 mm., 1.78 grm.).

373. *Phanes Kyndalas*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΥΝΔΑΛΑΣ
ΦΑΝΗΣ**

L [BMC. 110] (24 mm., 11.41 grm. Aa): V (23.5 mm., 11.39 grm. Bb): [Mi. 979].

374. *Phanes Kyndalas*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΥΝΔΑΛΑΣ
ΦΑΝΗΣ**

B (19.5 mm.): C [= Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 117] (18 mm., 6.06 grm.): K (19 mm.): L [BMC. 42] (20 mm., 7.70 grm.): L [BMC. 43] (19 mm., 5.08 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 35]: P [4346 = Mi. 1062]: P [4347]: W. H. Buckler (19.5 mm., 5.52 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 6.87 grm.): JGM (17 mm., 5.14 grm.).

375. *Phanes Kyndalas*. Type L.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΥΝΔΑΛΑΣ
ΦΑΝΗΣ**

A [5372⁵]: JGM (15 mm., 2.80 grm.).

376. *Phanes*. Type N.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΦΑΝΗΣ**

JGM [= H. Weber 6128] (13 mm., 1.62 grm.).

377. *Phanes*. Type K.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΦΑΝΗΣ**A [**ΣΚ** 1127] (13 mm.): O (12.5 mm., 2.51 grm.).

(Group β.)

378. *Leontiskos*. Type J.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ**

A [1910/1 **ΚΕ** 263] (23 mm. Ce): B (24 mm. Dd):
 B (23 mm. Ee): C: C. Corpus: K (24 mm. Dh):
 L (24 mm., 12.11 grm. Aa): O (23 mm., 13.53
 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]:
 P [4239 = Mi. S. 1432]: V (24 mm., 12.05 grm.
 Ff): V (23 mm., 12.80 grm. Gg): JGM (23 mm.,
 12.72 grm. Bb).

379. *Megakles*. Type J.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΜΕΓΑΚΛΗΣ**

K (25 mm. Ce): P [4240 = Mi. 984] (Bb): P [4166
 = de L. 2290]: JGM (25 mm., 13.58 grm. Aa).

380. *Megakles*. Tetradrachm.Ab. → **ΙΜΥΡ**, bel. → **ΜΕΓΑ**
ΝΑΙΩΝ **ΚΛΗΣ**

P [Wadd. 1934] (35 mm., 16.69 grm.).

381. *Metrodoros*. Type J.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**

B (23.5 mm. Ff): B (24 mm. Gg): K [Ram. 18]
 (23 mm. Cm): K (23 mm. Hh): L [BMC. 111]
 (24.5 mm., 11.29 grm. Aa) [**Pl. VII**]: O (25 mm.,
 13.97 grm. Kp): O (24 mm., 13.73 grm. Mr):
 O. Christ Church: O. New Coll. (23.5 mm., 12.64
 grm. Lo): P [4247 = Mi. 989?]: P [4248 = Mi.
 S. 1436?]: P [4249 = Mi. S. 1437?]: V (25 mm.,
 11.90 grm. Ak): V (22 mm., 13.14 grm. En):
 W. H. Buckler (24 mm., 13.66 grm. Bl): E. T.
 Newell (23 mm., 14.02 grm. Ee): JGM (23.5 mm.,
 12.37 grm. Bb): JGM (24.5 mm., 13.42 grm. Ce):
 JGM (25 mm., 16.05 grm. Dd): JGM (23 mm.,
 11.80 grm. Jj): [Philipsen sale 2216]: [Lavy
 2311].

382. *Metrodoros*. Type M.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**

A [1905/6 H 91] (19.5 mm.): B (19 mm.): G [Maed. 37] (19 mm., 7.03 grm.): Gotha: K [Ram. 49] (18.5 mm.): L [BMC. 44] (19 mm., 7.60 grm.): L [BMC. 45] (18.5 mm., 6.56 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 35]: O. New Coll. (18 mm., 6.53 grm.): P [4275]: P [4371]: V (20 mm., 4.68 grm.): V (18 mm., 6.05 grm.): W. H. Buckler (19 mm., 6.48 grm.): JGM (21 mm., 6.91 grm.) [Pl. VIII]: JGM (19 mm., 6.68 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 6.72 grm.).

383. *Metrodoros*. Type L.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**

B (15 mm.): B (14.5 mm.): B (16 mm.): C [Leake, N. H., ii. 118] (15 mm., 3.30 grm.): G [Maed. 72 = Mi. S. 1462?] (15 mm., 2.33 grm.): G [Maed. 73] (15 mm., 2.78 grm.): Gotha: K [Ram. 80] (15 mm.): L [BMC. 56] (15.5 mm., 3.01 grm.): O (14 mm., 3.10 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: O. New Coll. (15 mm., 3.24 grm.): W. H. Buckler (14.5 mm., 3.09 grm.): JGM (14.5 mm., 2.85 grm.): JGM (15 mm., 3.17 grm.) [Pl. VIII].

(Group γ.)


384. *Eukles*. Type J.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΥΚΛΗΣ** ^P ~~Μ~~, in ex. ~~☞~~

C. Corpus: G [Maed. 8] (23 mm., 14.25 grm. Bb) [Pl. VII]: Gotha: L [BMC. 109] (22.5 mm., 11.23 grm. Aa): O (21 mm., 12.36 grm.): O. New Coll. (24 mm., 12.31 grm. Cc): P [4219 = Mi. 962]: [Seyffer cat. 927 (24 mm., 10.45 grm.)].


385. *Eukles*. Type M.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΥΚΛΗΣ** ^P ~~Μ~~, in ex. ~~☞~~

B (18 mm.): G [Maed. 34] (19 mm., 5.76 grm.): Gotha: K (20 mm.): L (19.5 mm., 6.82 grm.): JGM (19.5 mm., 5.11 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 5.62 grm.) [Pl. VIII]: [Mi. 1059].

386. *Eukles*. Type L.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΥΚΛΗΣ**, in ex. 
 K (15 mm.) [Pl. VIII]: P [4285 = Mi. 1028]: JGM
 (16 mm., 2.30 grm.).

387. *Eukles*. Type N.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΥΚΛΗΣ**, in ex. 
 B (13 mm.) [Pl. VIII].

(Group δ.)

388. *Athenagoras Korymb(as ?)*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ**
ΚΟΡΥΜΒ

A [ΣΚ 1033] (23 mm. Pf): B (23 mm. Gg): L
 [BMC. 108] (24 mm., 11.63 grm. Aa): L (24 mm.,
 12.19 grm. Bb): P [4176 = Mi. 922?]: P [4177
 = Mi. 924?]: P [4178 = Mi. S. 1402?]: V (23.5
 mm., 12.10 grm. Bb): JGM (23 mm., 12.29 grm.
 Cc): JGM (25 mm., 10.78 grm. Dd): JGM (23
 mm., 13.02 grm., Ee): [Pozzi 3038 (22 mm., 12.85
 grm. He)] [Pl. VII].

389. *Athenagoras*. Type M.

⟨a⟩ r. ↓ } **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ** { l. ↓ } **ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ**
 ⟨b⟩ l. ↓ } r. ↓ }

A [ΣΚ 1150] ⟨a⟩ (19 mm.): B ⟨b⟩ (18.5 mm.): B
 ⟨b⟩ (18.5 mm.): L [BMC. 35] ⟨b⟩ (18.5 mm., 5.86
 grm.): L [BMC. 36] ⟨a⟩ (18 mm., 5.50 grm.):
 L ⟨b⟩ (19.5 mm., 6.85 grm.): O. Christ Church
 [= Mus. Mead., p. 35] ⟨b⟩: O. New Coll. ⟨a⟩ (19
 mm., 6.91 grm.): P [4338 = Mi. 1056] ⟨a⟩: JGM ⟨b⟩
 (18 mm., 5.15 grm.): JGM ⟨b⟩ (19 mm., 5.60
 grm.).

390. *Athenagoras*. Type L.

l. ↑ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, r. ↑ **ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ**

A [5372^a]: A [5372^b]: A [1892/3 IZ 62]: B (15
 mm.): B (15 mm.): C [Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 118]
 (16 mm., 2.66 grm.): C [Leake suppl.] (14.5
 mm.): G [Maed. 68] (13 mm., 3.08 grm.): K

[Ram. 81] (15 mm.): L [BMC. 47] (15 mm., 3.24 grm.): L [BMC. 48] (16 mm., 3.19 grm.): L [BMC. 49] (14 mm., 2.63 grm.): L [BMC. 50] (14 mm., 2.78 grm.): O (16 mm., 2.96 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4277 = Mi. 1023?]: P [4278 = Mi. S. 1453?]: V (15 mm., 3.34 grm.): JGM (16 mm., 2.84 grm.): [Pozzi 2991 (16.5 mm., 3.18 grm.): [Pozzi 2992 (15 mm., 3.31 grm.): [Rhousoopoulos sale 3779 (15 mm.)].

391. *Apatourios*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ**

C [Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 118] (22.5 mm., 14.03 grm.): L (23 mm., 11.68 grm. Aa): O [= *N. C.* '00. 206] (22 mm., 13.89 grm. Ff): P [4184 = Mi. 929]: V (23.5 mm., 13.61 grm. Ee): JGM (23 mm., 11.53 grm. Bb): JGM (24.5 mm., 10.46 grm. Cc): JGM (22.5 mm., 12.36 grm. Dd).

392. *Apatourios*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ**

B (19 mm.): B (18.5 mm.): C [Leake, *N. H.*, ii. 117] (19 mm., 6.80 grm.): K [Ram. 46] (19 mm.): K (19 mm.): L [BMC. 37] (19 mm., 6.75 grm.): L [BMC. 38] (19 mm., 6.57 grm.): O (20 mm., 6.86 grm.): O. Christ Church (= Mus. Mead., p. 35): P [4339 = Mi. 1057]: V (19 mm., 5.74 grm.): E. Rogers (18.5 mm., 7.15 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 6.62 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 6.00 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 5.59 grm.).

393. *Apatourios*. Type L.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ**

B (13.5 mm.): B (15 mm.): K (15 mm.): L (15 mm., 3.29 grm.): O (14 mm., 4.10 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4279 = Mi. 1035]: V (14.5 mm., 4.02 grm.): E. Rogers (15.5 mm., 2.42 grm.): JGM (16 mm., 4.16 grm.): JGM (15 mm., 2.94 grm.): [H. Weber 6125 (14.5 mm., 4.26 grm.)].

394. *Demetrios*. Type J.

ΙΓΑ

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ**

A [5362] (21 mm. Aa): B (21.5 mm. Bb): G [Maed. 6] (24 mm., 13.54 grm. Ce): P [4203 = Mi. 948]: P [4204 = Mi. 949]: V (24 mm., 12.52 grm. Ad): E. T. Newell (23 mm., 9.07 grm. Bb).

395. *Dioskourides*. Tetradrachm.

Ab. → **ΙΜΥΡ**, bel. → **ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥ**
ΝΑΙΩΝ **ΡΙΔΗΣ**

A (36 mm., 16.58 grm.): B (30 mm., 16.45 grm.): P (Wadd. 1930 = Borrell sale 197?) (30 mm., 14.04 grm.): R. Jameson (35 mm., 16.25 grm.): [Sotheby's sale 26/4/07. 93 = Pozzi sale 2514 (34 mm., 16.34 grm.)]: [Sotheby's sale 8/12/15, 211 (16.23 grm.)].

396. *Epandros*. Type J.

ΕΡ

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΣ**

A [5362⁷] (22 mm. Ce): A [5362⁹] (24 mm. Cf): A [5362¹] (23.5 mm. Dd): L (24 mm., 13.88 grm. Aa): P [4211 = Mi. S. 1421?]: P [4271 = Mi. 1015?]: V (23 mm., 12.55 grm. Ee): JGM (24 mm., 13.77 grm. Bb).

397. *Zeuxis*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΞΥΞΙΣ** ⊕

A [5362¹] (23 mm. Ce): A [ΣΚ 1051] (22 mm. Kk): B (24 mm. Gg): B (24 mm. Ff): C. Corpus: G [Maed. 9] (24 mm., 14.41 grm. Cm): G [Maed. 10] (24 mm., 13.67 grm. Dd): Gotha: K. Thorv. Mus. [Müll. 1481] (23 mm. Hh): K (22 mm. Jj): L [BMC. 114] (22 mm., 13.10 grm. Aa): L [BMC. 115] (24 mm., 15.50 grm. Bb): L [= H. Weber 6137] (23 mm., 15.30 grm.): O (22 mm., 13.05 grm. Mo): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4221 = Mi. 967]: V (24 mm., 11.65 grm. Ll): V (23.5 mm., 10.60 grm. La): JGM (25 mm., 14.69 grm. Ce): JGM (25 mm.,

12.66 grm. Ee): JGM (24 mm., 13.12 grm. Ff):
[E. F. Weber sale 2952 (24 mm.)].

398. *Zeuxis*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΕΥΞΙΣ** ⊕

B (19 mm.): B (19 mm.): L [BMC. 39] (19.5 mm.,
6.31 grm.): P [4343 = Mi. 1060]: V (19 mm.,
5.00 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 6.43 grm.): JGM
(20 mm., 6.91 grm.).

399. *Zeuxis*. Type L

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΕΥΞΙΣ**

A [1892/3 IZ 63]: B (16.5 mm.): B (16 mm.):
G [Maed. 70] (15 mm., 3.40 grm.): K (16 mm.):
L [BMC. 51] (15 mm., 3.20 grm.): O (14 mm.,
2.70 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p.
34]: O. New Coll. (15.5 mm., 3.74 grm.): P [4286
= Mi. 1029]: W. H. Buckler (15.5 mm., 3.87 grm.):
JGM (16 mm., 3.44 grm.).

400. *Herodotos*. Tetradrachm.

Ab. → **ΙΜΥΡ**, bel. → **ΗΡΟΔΟ**
ΝΑΙΩΝ **ΤΟΣ**

JGM [= Philipsen sale 2214] (34 mm., 16.51 grm.).

401. *Thrida*(?). Type L.

r. ↓ ?, l. ↓ **ΡΙΔΑ**

B (16 mm.).

402. *Thrida*(). Type K.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡ**, l. ↓ **ΘΡΙΔΑ**

B (11 mm.): G [Maed. 81 = Mi. S. 1473] (10 mm.,
1.10 grm.): K (12 mm.): K (11.5 mm.): P [4311
= Mi. S. 1475?] (11 mm.): JGM (11 mm., 1.27
grm.): JGM (11 mm., 1.05 grm.).

403. *Iatrodoros*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**

A [1891/2 KZ 301] (22 mm. Ch): A [ΣΚ 1211]
(23 mm.): B (23 mm. Ff): G [Maed. 7 = Mi. S.

1418] (25 mm., 11.92 gm. Bb): Gotha: K (24 mm. Ee): L (24 mm., 12.64 gm. Aa): O (23 mm., 13.09 gm. Hk): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4231 = Mi. 972]: V (23.5 mm., 12.06 gm. Gg): W. H. Buckler (23 mm., 14.72 gm. Dj): JGM (25 mm., 13.08 gm. Cc): JGM. (22.5 mm., 11.59 gm. Dd): [E. F. Weber sale 2952 (25 mm.)].

404. *Iatrodoros*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**

B (19.5 mm.): B (18 mm.): B (18.5 mm.): Gotha: O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 35]: P [4340 = Mi. 1058?]: P [4344 = Mi. 1061?]: V (19.5 mm., 6.57 gm.): JGM (18 mm., 7.28 gm.): [Cat. Gréau 1805].

405. *Iatrodoros*. Type L.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΙΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ**



B (16 mm.): B (16.5 mm.): B (15 mm.): L [BMC. 52] (16 mm., 3.54 gm.): O (15 mm., 3.84 gm.): O (15 mm., 3.14 gm.): O (15 mm., 3.65 gm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4287 = Mi. 1030?]: P [4288 = Mi. S. 1457?]: V (15.5 mm., 3.54 gm.): W. H. Buckler (16.5 mm., 3.83 gm.): E. Rogers (16 mm., 3.15 gm.): JGM (15 mm., 3.03 gm.) [Pl. VIII]: JGM (15 mm., 3.26 gm.): JGM (15.5 mm., 3.82 gm.): [Pozzi 2994 (15 mm., 3.48 gm.): [Pozzi 2995 (14.5 mm., 3.40 gm.): [Philipsen sale 2216].

406. *Pollis*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΠΟΛΛΙΣ**

K (23.5 mm. Cc). L [BMC. 112] (22 mm., 18.28 gm. Aa): L [BMC. 113] (25 mm., 12.44 gm., Bb): P [4258 = Mi. 1000?]: V (23.5 mm., 11.98 gm. Dd): JGM (24 mm., 17.47 gm. Cc).

406b. *Pollis Diodor(ou)*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ (a) **ΠΟΛΛΙΣ** 
(b) **ΠΟΛΛΙΣ** 

B (b) (24.5 mm. Ce): B (a) (24 mm. Dd): B (a) (25 mm. Ee): G [Maed. 11] (b) (23 mm., 13.64 grm. Bb): L (b) (23.5 mm., 11.81 grm. Aa): P [4257] (b): P [4259 = Mi. S. 1445?] (a): P [4261] (b): V (a) (25 mm., 12.21 grm. Ff).

406 c. *Pollis Diodorou*. Type J.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΠΟΛΛΙΣΔΙΟ
ΔΩΡΟΥ**

B (23.5 mm. Aa): P [4260 = Mi. 1002]: V (25 mm., 14.74 grm. Bb): JGM (23.5 mm., 14.31 grm. Aa).

407. *Protopogenes*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ**

Amsterdam [Boissevain 79] (18.5 mm., 6.60 grm.): B (19 mm.) [Pl. VIII]: G [Maed. 38] (19 mm., 6.99 grm.): K (19.5 mm.): L [BMC. 46] (19 mm., 6.06 grm.): P [4342]: P [4348]: V [= Mi. S. 1524] (20.5 mm., 6.64 grm.): JGM (19 mm., 5.43 grm.).

408. *Protopogenes*. Type L.

l. ↑ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, r. ↑ **ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ**

K (16 mm.): L [BMC. 59] (16 mm., 3.77 grm.): O. Christ Church.

409. *Protopogenes*. Type K.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ**

O [N. C. '00. 204] (12 mm., 1.91 grm.) [Pl. VIII]: JGM [= H. Weber 6120] (11 mm., 1.61 grm.).

(Group ε.)

410. *Kleinias*. Type M.

r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ**

A [5367]: A [ΣΚ 1147] (19 mm.): G [Maed. 35] (19 mm., 6.99 grm.): G [Maed. 36] (18 mm., 6.32 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 35] (16.5 mm.) [Pl. VIII]. O. New Coll. (18 mm., 6.56 grm.): JGM (17 mm., 5.60 grm.).

411. *Kleinias*. Type L.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ**

A⁺ [5372^e]: B (14 mm.): G [Maced. 71] (14 mm., 1.55 grm.): K (15 mm.): L [BMC. 53] (14.5 mm., 4.09 grm.): O. Christ Church [= Mus. Mead., p. 34]: P [4290 = Mi. 1031?]: P [4290^a]: P [4291 = Mi. S. 1459?]: V (14.5 mm., 3.52 grm.): JGM (14 mm., 3.32 grm.) [Pl. VIII].

412. *Kleinias*. Type K.r. ↓ **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. ↓ **ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ**

A [ΣΚ 1114] (13 mm.): K (13 mm.): O. New Coll. (12 mm., 1.95 grm.): JGM (13 mm., 1.98 grm.) [Pl. VIII].

The dates of the last two periods can be considered together. The bronze coinage of period XVI was evidently a provisional one, issued to meet a temporary emergency, as it mainly consists of old Homereia restruck without any magistrates' names to give them a fresh guarantee: while these are plentiful, examples of type M are rare, and none at all are found of the smaller denominations. These facts can best be explained by the assumption that, while arrangements were in progress for the reorganization of the bronze currency, which came into effect in the next period and brought a substantial increase in the sizes of all denominations, there was found to be a shortage in circulation of Homereia, which must have been the staple unit of bronze, and a hasty reissue of some of the old pieces, which were being called in for recoinage, had to be made, though no magistrate could fairly be saddled with the responsibility for coins which fell so markedly below the standard of the new series which were in course of preparation. Period XVI was presumably therefore a very brief one, and may not

have extended beyond the year in which period XV ended, which has been taken as 75 B.C.

Period XVII ends with the autonomous coinage of Smyrna—at latest on the establishment of the authority of Augustus in 30 B.C. But in all probability the actual cessation of the mintage occurred some years earlier: during the civil wars the condition of the cities of Asia was not such as to call for the provision of fresh supplies of local currency: and only twenty names of magistrates are known on coins belonging to this period. As will be seen later, it is likely that at this time a single magistrate was in charge of the mint annually: and the facts suggest that no bronze coinage was struck at Smyrna after about 50 B.C. till Augustus resumed the issues with a revival of the reverse of type M associated with his own obverse.

Two questions of general interest are suggested by the foregoing facts—the number of the mint-officers at Smyrna, and the denominations of the bronze coinage—and as to these some rather speculative suggestions may be made.

From a review of the remarks on the dating of the periods given after each section, it appears that the practice of the local authorities at Smyrna with regard to the distribution of the responsibility for the coinage varied from time to time: in some periods there is no reason to suppose that more than one monetary magistrate was operating at any point, in others it seems clear that there were two or three in office together. The former principle holds good generally in Sections I and III: in these it is usual to find a magistrate striking several or all denominations; and no instances of

the joint use of dies by two magistrates occur, except in period III, at the beginning of the series with names, when the issues were comparatively small and a die might well outlast the requirements of its first owner: the number of names assignable to each period is also regularly less than the number of years it covers. But in Section II there are frequent cases where two or three magistrates used the same die, sometimes under circumstances which make it necessary to suppose that they held office together: the clearest is in period X, group δ , where Arrhidaios, Diogenes, and Pasikrates shared no less than six obverse dies for Homereia, while seven more dies were used by two of the three: it is out of the question to think that this could have happened through the handing down of dies from one man to his successor, and the only reasonable explanation is that the mintage of coins in all three names was going on simultaneously. In group γ of the same period there is also an extensive sharing of dies by Kallistratos and Krokinos: and it should be noted that these, and most of the instances of joint user, are of the dies of Homereia, and by magistrates whose names do not appear on any other denomination. In fact, after period VIII it is exceptional in Section II to find a magistrate who struck Homereia also striking smaller bronze, other than type M: the tendency seems rather to have been for the four lower denominations to be entrusted to a separate officer, while the silver was generally issued under names which do not occur on the bronze. The exact arrangements varied from time to time: thus in period VIII, group α , there appear to be instances where the same man was responsible for type L and for tetradrachms; in period IX, group δ ,

similarly for types L, N, and K and tetradrachms; in period XIV, group *a*, the same names occur on type J and three smaller denominations of bronze. The general impression produced by a survey of Section II is that for the greater part of it at any rate there was a board of three monetary magistrates appointed, probably for a year (in several cases a second term of office is specifically mentioned), and that they divided amongst them the responsibility of producing the amount and kind of currency required: if there was need of a large issue of Homereia, as in period X, all three struck Homereia and nothing else: otherwise they could share the denominations between themselves so as to get a fair distribution of the burden.¹

For the purpose of investigating the currency values of the bronze coins, the fullest evidence is to be found in the last period of the autonomous series, when two denominations of silver and five varieties of bronze were being issued concurrently: one magistrate is known to have struck all seven, and half of the names recorded are represented in all three larger sizes of bronze, of which specimens are far more plentiful than of the two smaller. At this time the bronze was certainly a token-coinage, and so denominations can only be assigned on grounds of general probability, as there are no marks of value: but it is reasonable to suppose that in an important commercial centre like

¹ It is possible that the institution of such a board of three at Smyrna shortly after 190 B.C. may have been due to the imitation of Roman customs which seems to have become rather fashionable there, as suggested in my note on the use of cognomina at Smyrna (*Num. Chron.*, iv. 316): the government at Smyrna may well have regarded the Roman *tresviri monetales* as a model worth copying.

Smyrna, which was largely frequented by foreign merchants, some guidance would be given to the users of the coins for distinguishing the denominations, as is found in other cases of token-coinages. One obvious clue is in the types: but, while a stranger would be able to realize at once that pieces with reverse-types of Homer, Aphrodite, hands, altar, and lyre were distinct, this would not suggest their relative values. The natural way of marking these, which has been commonly followed both in ancient and modern times, is to make the weights of the bronze coins roughly proportionate to their positions in the scale of bronze currency, though their actual metal content may be far below their nominal value: and so, if the denomination of one type is known, those of the rest can be readily inferred by comparison. For this purpose it was not necessary to adjust the weight of each coin exactly: it only had to keep near enough to a norm to be recognizable, and the average of a fairly large group of specimens may be taken as the norm. The following table gives the averages (in grammes) for the three larger denominations in period XVII:

	Specimens weighed.	Highest weight.	Lowest weight.	General range.	Average.
Type J	75	18.28	9.07	14.0-11.9	12.9
" M	60	7.70	4.66	7.0- 5.5	6.2
" L	54	4.26	1.55	3.8- 2.7	3.2

In view of these figures it seems reasonable to take M as the half of J, and L as the half of M. The smaller types N and K are unfortunately too rare in this period for any reliable average weights to be obtained, and their position in the scale can be determined more safely on the evidence of earlier periods, when they were more freely issued.

As the two denominations of silver struck at Smyrna in period XVII were the tetradrachm and drachma, it is natural to look first for an obol in the bronze. The relative values of silver and copper in Asia Minor at this date are not known, nor would they be any guide if they were known: but it is of some help to note that in Egypt during the first century B.C. the bronze coin which was reckoned as an obol in relation to the silver standard averaged 17 to 18 grammes in weight: and, if this was found a convenient size for the obol at Alexandria, it seems likely that at Smyrna the Homereion of about 13 grammes was the obol.² It is consistent with this supposition that Homereia are much commoner than any other of the bronze types of Smyrna: as the obol was the leading subdivision of the drachma, there would be a larger demand for obols than for any other fractional coin in the local circulation. The coins of type M can then be taken as tetrachalka and those of type L as dichalka, while the chalkus will have to be found in one of the smaller pieces, which can now be considered as they appeared in Section II.

In this section the same types were in use as in period XVII, and, though the module throughout was smaller, the weights of the different varieties were in approximately the same proportions: at the beginning of the Section, in period VIII, the specimens weighed show averages for types J, M, and L of 7.9, 4.4, and

² The Alexandrian obol might be heavier than the Smyrnaean either because silver was probably at this time, as it certainly was in earlier periods, rated relatively high in Egypt, or (the more likely reason) because the Egyptians had a fondness for large copper or bronze coins, which does not seem to have been shared by the Greeks of Asia Minor.

2.3 grammes respectively: and, though there are slight variations in later periods, there is nothing that departs far from the ratio 4:2:1. It seems reasonable to assume that the values attached to the different types were the same throughout Sections II and III, and that the increase in weight in period XVII was due, not to any change of denomination, but to a general revision of the metallic basis of the bronze coinage.³ As regards the smaller denominations, the fullest evidence is to be found in period XI, when they were struck rather plentifully, and when the same magistrates issued types L, N, and K: here the average weights are, for L, 1.99; for N, 1.6; for K, 1.3 grammes: and, wherever else comparison is possible, the normal weight of type N is greater than that of type K: so N may fairly be taken as the higher denomination. Judged purely by weight, it would seem that, as L was the dichalkon, N should be valued at $1\frac{1}{2}$ chalki and K at 1 chalkus: but it is not unusual for the lower denominations of a token-coinage to be heavier in proportion to their values than the higher (especially in the case of very small pieces, which are difficult to strike regularly), and, as a half-chalkus is much more likely to have been wanted for convenience of trade than a trihemichalkon, it is probably better to conclude that N was the chalkus and K the half.

³ It is just possible that the increase in weight of the Smyrnaean bronze coins about 70 B.C. may have had some connexion with the cessation of bronze coinage at Rome. Though bronze was essentially local currency, it drifted abroad in course of trade: and, when Roman bronze was growing scarce, the authorities at Smyrna may have raised the size and weight of their issues as a sort of advertisement of them as a substitute: if Delos still, as in the third century, reckoned all external bronze by weight, there would be an obvious advantage in such a move.

In the earlier part of Section II the classification is complicated by the survival of type B, the only one of the types used in Section I which continued after the reorganization of the coinage about 190 a.c.: it was struck spasmodically, and disappeared entirely after period XII. Its weight was almost that of type L: in periods XI and XII α , when the issues of both types were substantial, the averages are, for B 1.98 and 1.99 grammes, for L 1.99 and 2.15 grammes. Now in period VIII, the first after the reorganization, it is noticeable that these two types were not struck by the same magistrates: type B was usually issued under names which occur also on Homereia, while of the four names found on type L three are not known on any other bronze coins, though they may be traceable in monograms on silver tetradrachms: and this fact suggests that, at the beginning of the new series, two shops of the mint may have used different types for the same denomination. In later periods, however, the same magistrate occasionally struck both types: and if they were of the same value, the only explanation of the continuance in circulation of type B which suggests itself is that there may have been a conservative clinging to the oldest type of the local bronze coinage, which led to its occasional revival until the practical disadvantage of having two distinct types current with the same value in a busy trading city outweighed the claims of sentiment.

The data for determining denominations are more scanty in Section I, and any conclusions drawn from them must be hypothetical. As type B was kept in circulation and reissued at about the same weight after the reorganization, there is some reason for supposing

that its value was unchanged: and if this, as suggested, was two chalki in the later period, it gives a starting-point for assigning values to the four denominations used in periods VI and VII. These, in order of size, are types F, B, G, and C: and the weights are roughly suitable to a series of four, two, one, and half chalki. The same values for F and G would correspond to the facts recorded for period V, in which there are only these two denominations. Period IV is anomalous, as can be seen from the account given of it: but type H is probably marked by the shrimp-symbol as being the equivalent of the second denomination of the preceding period, to which it approximates in weight: the one example of type E cannot be placed. In period III there appear to be three denominations—type B—a smaller size of type B, later replaced by type C, both with the shrimp-symbol—and type D—in size and weight these correspond with F, B, and G of period VI, and the question arises whether type or weight is to be taken as the guide to the value: i.e. whether types B and C, the two highest denominations of period III, had the same value when they reappeared after an interval with reduced weights as the second and fourth denominations of period VI, or whether their values in period VI were those of the coins of approximately the same weights in earlier periods. On the whole, as there was a distinct break in the bronze series after period III, followed by the introduction of some fresh types, it seems preferable to assume here that it was the weights which were maintained as the mark of value, and that the three denominations issued in period III were the tetrachalkon, dichalkon, and chalkus. This is the more probable as in periods I

and II the types of all denominations had been the same, and the general means of distinction between the values must have been size and weight, except for symbols in one or two instances: the use of a distinct type for each denomination only developed gradually. The four denominations of the two earliest periods appear to correspond with the four of period VI, and probably had the same values.

The denominations, and the types used for them, in the various periods were therefore as follows, if the foregoing assumptions are correct:

	Obol.	4 ch.	2 ch.	Ch.	$\frac{1}{2}$ ch.
Period I		B	B (with shrimp)	B	B
" II		A	A	A (with bee)	A
" III		B	{ B (with shrimp) C H	D	
" IV					
" V		F		G	
" VI, VII		F	B	G	C
" VIII-XII	J	M	{ B L	N	K
" XIII-XVII	J	M	L	N	K

In concluding this account of the autonomous coinage of Smyrna, I have to express my thanks to the authorities of the museums and the private collectors whose specimens are recorded in the lists: a glance at these will show how wide and deep my obligations are. To none do I owe more than to two who have passed on while these articles were appearing—Dr. J. N. Svoronos and Dr. R. Münsterberg—of whose unfailing courtesy and readiness to help I have a lively and grateful memory.

ADDENDA.

By an oversight a drachma struck by Sarapion was omitted in the account of Section II. Like the drachmas of Epandros and Iatrodoros, with which it is closely

connected in style, it has to be moved up from the place given it in the article on the Silver coinage to group α of period XII: and the magistrate who struck it is probably the same whose Homereia are catalogued in this group. There should therefore be inserted after 242:

242*. *Sarapion*. Drachma.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ**
L [BMC. 7] (19 mm., 3.62 grm.).

Dr. Pink, of Vienna, has kindly sent me casts of some Homereia found at Ephesos by the Austrian expedition of 1927, amongst which is one with the name of a new magistrate, Thersippos. His place is fixed in group XIV γ not only by the general style of the coin, but by the fact that the obverse is from the same die as the British Museum specimen of Herakleides Pon().

324*. *Thersippos*. Type J.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΘΕΡΣΙΠΠΟΣ**, to r. owl. l.
V (21 mm.).

The addition of a symbol in the field is unprecedented in the Homereia: it is possibly a personal badge of Thersippos, or represents his cognomen.

Another cast shows a patronymic which is usually given in monogram written out in full.

315 b. *Semagorus Hikesiou II*. Type J.

r. \downarrow **ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**, l. \downarrow **ΣΗΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ**
ΙΚΕΣΙΟΥ
ΤΟΒ
V (22 mm.).

The resolution of the monogram in 249 and 315-318 should be corrected accordingly.

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Θαρσυνων Ἐπιμα	X α	172.
Θεοδοτος	III β	16.
" Ηρα	XIV α	309.
Θεοτίμος	XII δ	262, 263.
" Θε	X α	173.
" Ὑλας	XIII δ	303.
Θερσίππος	XIV γ	324* (p. 163).
Θενδης	IX ε	159, 160.
" Παλ	IX α	116.
Θριδα(XVII δ	401, 402.
Ἰασων Ἰασονος	XIV δ	332.
Ἰατροδωρος	XVII δ	403, 404, 405.
" Ιατρ	XII α	236.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Types.</i>
Ἰερωνυμος	XV β	352.
Ἰερωνυμον	XIII α	281.
Ἰκαδιος	XVII α	369, 370, 371, 372.
Ἰκεσι(Μητρο((Μητρο(, Μητ()	XI γ	222.
Ἰκεσιος	VIII β	97, 97 b, 97 c, 98, 98 b.
Ἰπ(	XV β	353.
Ἰππας Ἀρτεμιδωρον	V β	37.
Ἰππομεδων Μητρίχου	XV β	354.
Ἰσ(	?	vii, p. 68.
	V β	iii, p. 30.
Καλλισ(	IX β	126.
Καλλιστρατος (Καλλιστρί()	X γ	180.
Κλεανδριδης	XV β	355.
Κλεινας	XVII ε	410, 411, 412.
Κονων	VIII γ	104, 104 b, 105, 105 b, 106, 107.
Κρατινος Κρατινου	XIII β	290.
Κρωκινης	X γ	181.
Κτυπων	XI β	205.
Λατιμος Ἰερωνος	XV α	342, 343.
Λεοντισκος	XVII β	378.
Λεωκρατης	XI γ	223.
Λυσιας	III γ	23, 24.
Μεγακλης	XVII β	379, 380.
Μετανδρος (Μετανδ)	III γ	25, 26.
Μενεκ((Μενεκρατ(, Μενεκρ()	XII γ	251, 252.
Μενεκρατης (Μενέκρα(, Μενέκρ(, Μενεκ(, Μενεκρα)	IX δ	137, 138, 139, 140, 141.
Ἰ. Ἀγριος	XIII β	291.
Ἰ. το β	XIII β	292.
Ἰ. Κεφαλιωνος (Μενε()	XIV δ	333, 334, 335.
Ἰ. [αμβαλο]	XIII α	282.
Μενελαος Πατρ	IX α	117.
Μέντωρ (Μεντ)	VIII α	83, 84.
Μένωρ	VIII γ	108, 109.
Μηροδοτος (Μηροδ(, Μηνο()	XIII β	293.
Ἰ. Μητρ	IX ε	161.
Ἰ. Σαραπιωνος	XIV α	310.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Types.</i>
Μητροδωρος	VIII a	85, 86.
Μηροφει((Μηροφ(, Μηρο()	XII γ	253, 254, 255.
Μηροφειλος Κραβανς	XIII β	294.
Μητρο	V α	33.
Μητρο('Απολ((Μητρο(, 'Απο(, 'Απ()	XI γ	224.
Μητροβιος Βανς (Βα()	XII δ	264, 265.
Μητροδωρος	XVII β	381, 382, 383.
" (Λο) (Μητροδω(, Μητρο)	IX ε	162, 163, 164, 165.
" Πασικρατου	XII α	237.
" Ταθην	XII β	245.
Μοιραγι((Μοιρ)	VIII α	87, 88.
Μοσχων	XI γ	225.
Μοσχος	IX ε	vii, p. 107.
"	XI β	206, 207.
"	XII β	246.
"	XII δ	266, 267, 268.
"	XIII β	295.
" Ε	XIII δ	304.
" Ηρ	XIII δ	305.
" Μοσχου	XIV β	321, 322.
Νικαδας Μητροδωρου Θεωδας	XIII δ	306.
Νικιας Λεπτος	XIV δ	336.
Νικοστρατος	XI γ	226, 227.
Ξενοβαστι((Ξενο()	III β	17, 18.
Ξενωιδης	III α	12.
"	VIII β	99, 99 b, 99 c, 99 d, 100.
'Ομη(	VIII α	89.
Πα	V β	33.
Πανημ	V β	39, 39 a.
Παραμονος (Παραμον(, Παραμο()	XII α	238, 239.
Πασικρατης Μητρ	X δ	185.
Πατρων Με	IX ε	166.
Πλατω(	VIII γ	110.
Πολλις	IV	29.
" Δρι	X α	174.
" (Διοδωρου, Διοδωρ)	XVII δ	406, 406 b, 406 c.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Types.</i>
Πολυνικος $\overline{\Theta\eta\delta}$	XII <i>a</i>	240.
Ποσειδωνιος (Ποσει(, $\overline{\Pi\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\omega}$)	IX δ	142, 143, 144, 145.
Ποσση (Ποσ()	VI	43, 44, 45.
Ποσιδεος Μοσχου (Ποσιδι(, Μοσ()	XIV <i>a</i>	311, 312, 313, 314.
Ποταμων	XI <i>a</i>	193.
Πραξαγορας 'Ικεισιου	XIII γ	298.
Πρωταγορας $\overline{\Xi\rho}$	IX δ	146.
Πρωτογενης	XVII δ	407, 408, 409.
Πρωτομαχος	XII β	247, 248.
Πυθειος	IX α	118.
" ($\overline{\Phi\alpha\nu}$)	IX δ	147, 148.
Πυθίων	VIII δ	111.
Πυθοδωρος	VII γ	69, 70.
Πυρ	V <i>a</i>	34, 34 b.
Πυρρος $\overline{\Xi\pi\alpha\nu}$	XII <i>a</i>	241.
Σαμων	VIII <i>a</i>	90.
Σαραπιων (Σαραπιω(, Σαραπι()	IX δ	149.
" (Μητροδωρ)	XII <i>a</i>	242, 242* (p. 163).
Σημυγορας 'Ικεισιου (Ιεσ)	XII β	249.
" " το β'	XIV <i>a</i>	315, 315 b (p. 163), 316, 317, 318.
Σιλω(	IX <i>a</i>	119.
Σιμων 'Αρτεμιδωρου	XV β	356.
Συμμαχος	IV	30, 31.
Σωπα(Παρσ((Παρ()	XI γ	228.
Σωπατρος	XV β	357.
Σωσος	VII γ	71, 72, 73.
" $\overline{\Pi\omega}$	IX δ	150.
Σωτας	IX ϵ	167.
Τιμων	XII δ	269.
Φαηης	XI β	208, 209.
" (Κυνδαλας)	XVII <i>a</i>	373, 374, 375, 376, 377.
" Ματρωνος	XV <i>a</i>	345.
" Μητροδοτου	XIII δ	307.
Φανοδημος	VIII δ	112.
Φανοκρατης	XI <i>a</i>	194.
" $\overline{\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho}$	XIII <i>a</i>	283, 284.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Types.</i>
Φιλίων (Φίλι()	VI	46, 47.
Φιλοκρατης $\overline{\Delta\gamma}$ (Φιλοκρ()	IX β	127, 128, 129.
Φιλωειδης (Φιλωσι(, Φιλω()	VI	48, 49, 50, 51.
Φιλωτας	IX α	120.
Φρυγανα(	XV β	358.
Χαρικλης	VIII α	91, 92, 93.
Χαριξενος Τρικκας	XII δ	270.
Χρυσωρος	IX α	121.
Προταρις	XV α	344.
No name	I	1, 1b, 1c, 2, 2b, 3, 4.
"	II	5, 6, 7, 8.
"	III γ	27, 28.
"	VIII β	101.
"	XVI	359, 360.
"		

J. G. MILNE.

VII.

PSEUDAEGINETICA

[SEE PLATES IX, X.]

ANY one who has closely studied the autonomous silver coinage of Aegina cannot fail to have been struck (oppressed is perhaps the juster word) with the general uniformity of its style, fabric, and types—sea-turtle, later land-tortoise, and square incuse. Against this uniformity a few coins stand out sharply. Among these the attribution to Aegina has already been questioned or rejected for the stater with triskeles reverse, the diobols with dolphin reverse, and the stater of Attic weight from Egypt.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to examine some other groups which do not fit into the general Aeginetan corpus and to suggest an origin for them in a different part of the Aegean. These coins are generally hemidrachms, an unusual denomination otherwise in the Aeginetan series; they are hardly met with in the older collections, and are even now very rare, though a certain number have been coming into the market in recent years, perhaps owing to a find.² They may be described as follows:

¹ G. R. Milbank, *Coinage of Aegina*, Num. Notes and Monographs 24, p. 33; and G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1922, p. 168.

² I should like to express my thanks here to Messrs. Regling, Oikonomos, and the late Dr. Xanthoudides; to Col. J. S. Cameron, Messrs. J. Mavrogordato, G. C. Martin, Hoyt Miller, and E. T. Newell for allowing me casts for publication of coins from the collections in their charge or possession, and often for other information; to Mr. S. P. Noe of the American Numismatic Society for his kindness in keeping watch for "Pseudaeginetica" in America, and making and sending me casts of any that came his way: and to the

GROUP A.

1. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle (loggerhead)³ with shield-shaped shell divided into three rows of parallel plates, the upper margin shown as a straight line, lateral margins omitted, the back flippers trailing behind, head to r.

Rev.—Square incuse divided rectangularly and diagonally into eight triangles, some partially filled up.

183.7 grs., B.M. (Hirsch, xxv. 1022). [Pl. IX.]

The reverse punch was later used to strike No. 2 (b).

2. *Obv.*—Similar, the head larger and to l.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 181.0 grs., Benson (S.W.H., 3. ii. 1909, lot 538⁴;

(b) G. C. Martin; (c) 188.7 grs., Pozzi (Navelle, i. 1631).

Dies: A/1 (= rev. punch of No. 1) (b).

A/? (a).

B/2 (c).

3. *Obv.*—Similar, of more developed style, the two outer rows of plates alternating with the central row.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 179.9 grs., B.M. [Pl. IX]; (b) 188.8 grs., Bement (Navelle, vii. 1142) = Sandeman (S.W.H. 13. vi. 1911, lot 205); (c) (d) Berlin; (e) 187.9 grs., Boston, Warren-Greenwell (Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, No. 862); (f) 182.0 grs., Paris (*Tr.*, ii. 3, col. 154, No. 110); (g) 187.8 grs., Pozzi (Navelle, i. 1632) = Rhousopoulos (Hirsch, xiii. 2195).

Dies: A/1 (a) (b) (c) (d) (e).

A/2 (f).

C/3 (g).

Keeper of Coins for reading the article in manuscript and for constant help in discussing points as they arose.

³ *Caretta caretta* (Linn.) = *Thalassochelys caretta* = *Cagnana caretta* = *Chelone cagnana*. The various scientific names that have been employed from time to time for the loggerhead and the tortoise are most confusing to the layman. I am indebted to Mr. C. Davies Sherborn of the Natural History Museum for his patient help in distinguishing the species where possible and for their correct nomenclature.

⁴ Reverse not illustrated.

4. *Obv.*—Similar, of further developed style, the upper margin of the shell no longer straight but undulating; in field r. crescent with horns inwards.

Rev.—Square incuse of type intermediate between that of Nos. 3 and 5.

182.2 grs., B.M. (Earl Fox Bequest=*Corolla Num.*, p. 36, No. II b, where, however, the crescent is not noticed). [Pl. IX.]

5. *Obv.*—Similar, the undulating upper margin divided into three sections covering the base of the neck and the two fore flippers respectively as on Nos. 8-9 below [field on r., where the crescent was on No. 4, off the flan].

Rev.—Square incuse with windmill pattern.

180.6 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 16, the plates on the shell not noticed). [Pl. IX.]

6. *Obv.*—Similar, of rough style; details as on No. 3.

Rev.—Skew incuse, with broad flat bands; the square incuse is divided by two oblique, intersecting bands joining points (not angles) on opposite sides; from the point of intersection a third band is dropped to the upper angle on l.

38.5 grs., Berlin. [Pl. IX.]

GROUP B.

7. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle with shield-shaped shell, plain except for T-pattern of large dots, the upper edge shaped as on No. 5, the back flippers trailing behind; in field l. crescent with horns outwards.

Rev.—Skew incuse with broad flat bands.

(a) (b) 52.0 grs., 46.0 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 113-14 [Pl. IX]); (c) 45.0 grs., B.M.; (d) (e) (f) 40.9 grs., 44.0 grs., 43.2 grs., Candia Museum, found in Crete; (g) Empedocles.

Dies: A/1 (a) (c)? (d) (e) (g).
A/2 (b).
?/? (f).

GROUP C.

8. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle with shield-shaped shell divided into plates with upper margin articulated as on No. 5, the lateral margins also shown; the hind flippers set almost touching the tail and turning upwards instead of trailing behind; in field on r. \angle^6 .

Rev.—Skew incuse, with broad, flat bands intersecting at the centre; in lower r. compartment crescent with horns outwards.

(a) 48.0 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 172) [Pl. IX]; (b) 45.8 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 173 = R. Stewart (S.W.H., 7. iii. 1838, lot 110—obtained in Asia Minor with *B.M.C.* 185 = No. 29 here); (c) 45.3 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, Canea Hoard, No. 65, found in Crete); (d) 45.5 grs., B.M. (Earle Fox Bequest); (e) 41.0 grs., B.M. (presented by Prof. J. L. Myres, who obtained it at Canea in Crete); (f) 45.5 grs., Berlin; (g) 42.1 grs., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClean Cat.* ii. 6037); (h) 39.9 grs., Candia Museum (found in Crete); (i) 42.1 grs., O. Helbing Nachfolger, Sale Cat., 24. x. 1927, lot 2981 = his Sale Cat., 12. iv. 1927, lot 1740; (j) (k) (l) 40.9 grs., 45.7 grs. (cleaned), 42.6 grs., G. C. Martin; (m) 49.0 grs., Paris (*Tr.*, Pl. CXCv. 5); (n) 45.7 grs., E. S. G. Robinson (Ratto, 4. iv. 1927, lot 1411).

Dies:	A/1 (a) (m).	A/4 (f).
	A/2 (b) (c) (d).	A/5 (h).
	A/3 (e) (g) (j) (k).	A/6 (i) (l) (n).

9. *Obv.*—Similar; no letter.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 44.9 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, found in Crete; overstruck, possibly on a drachm of Lyttus; traces of what may be an eagle flying l. being visible under the reverse) [Pl. IX]; (b) 41.5 grs., Berlin; (c) (d) 42.5, 42.6 grs., Candia Museum (found in

⁶ On some examples (e.g. (a)) an Λ has been described in the corresponding position on the l. This, however, is a die flaw which does not appear on the earlier strikes (e.g. (c) (d)) and whose development can be traced along with that of other flaws.

Crete); (e) 29.1 grs., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClellan Cat.*, ii. 6039⁶); (f) (g) 41.8 grs., 36.9 grs., E. T. Newell; (h) 44.0 grs., Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 1923, No. 1379; (i) (j) 43.5 grs., 40.9 grs., H. Weber (Forrer, *Weber Cat.*, ii. 3621-2, the former obtained in Smyrna).

Dies:	A/1 (a).	C/4 (d).
	B/2 (b).	C/5 (f).
	C/3 (c) (e).	C/6 (g) (h) (i).

10. *Obv.*—Similar, of summary style.

Rev.—Similar.

40.9 grs., Berlin. [Pl. IX.]

GROUP D.

11. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle; oval shell showing plates and surrounding margin, the hind flippers turned up as in Group C, in field l. crescent with horns outwards.

Rev.—Skew incuse with broad flat bands; no crescent.

(a) 47.8 grs., Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete);
 (b) 33.0 grs. plated, Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete); (c) 41.4 grs., Hoyt Miller; (d) 42.4 grs., Paris (*Tr.*, ii. 3, col. 157, No. 118); (e) 45.9 grs., Rimington (found in Crete); (f) 38.3 grs., E. S. G. Robinson.
 [Pl. IX.]

Dies:	A/1 (a)?	A/3 (e) (f).
	A/2 (c) (d).	B/4 (b).

12. *Obv.*—Similar, of summary style, the plates standing out like heavy pellets.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 40.4 grs., Berlin; (b) 41.4 grs., E. T. Newell.
 [Pl. IX.]

Dies:	A/1 (a).
	A/2 (b).

⁶ Mr. Grose has kindly re-examined this coin for me and agrees that the "very faint letters A I" noted in the catalogue are surface markings.

13. *Obv.*—Similar, crescent (if any) off flan.

Rev.—Similar, narrow bands; in upper r.-hand corner crescent with horns outwards.

42.6 grs., J. Mavrogordato. [Pl. IX.]

14. *Obv.*—Similar; on l. crescent, horns outward, on r. pellet.

Rev.—Similar, broad bands, without crescent.

Obol 14.0 grs., formerly G. Philipsen (Hirsch, xxv. 1030).

15. *Obv.*—Similar, without pellet.

Rev.—Similar, narrow bands.

Hemiobol 5.9 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, found in Crete). [Pl. IX.]

GROUP E.

16. *Obv.*—Land tortoise (*Testudo graeca*); the shell of trapezoid form, complete with plates and margin as on the later coinage of Aegina; in field r. crescent r., with horns outwards.

Rev.—Skew incuse with slightly narrower, flat bands; in lower r. angle crescent with horns outwards.

(a) 40.9 grs., B.M. (Lt.-Col. R. S. Wilson, found in Crete); (b) 44.7 grs., Berlin; (c) 43.6 grs., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClellan Cat.*, ii. 6038); (d) 41.6 (cleaned), G. C. Martin; (e) (f) 45.7 grs., 43.8 grs., E. T. Newell [Pl. IX.]; (g) 44.8 grs., Paris (*Tr.*, Pl. CXCv. 6); (h) 43.7 grs., E. S. G. Robinson.

Dies: A (= A of Nos. 18-19)/1 (a) (c) (g).

B (= A of No. 17)/1¹ (b) (d) (e) (f).

C (= B of No. 17)/2 (h).

¹ The same reverse die seems to have been used with A and B; certain superficial differences are, I think, due to the accidents of striking and progressive deterioration.

17. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar but without crescent (?) (the condition of (a) (c) (d) is such that its absence on them is not certain).

- (a) 28.3 grs. (cleaned), B.M. (Lt.-Col. R. S. Wilson, found in Crete); (b) (c) 41.2 grs., 37.9 grs., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClellan Cat.*, ii. 6049, 6050); (d) 39.9 grs., Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete).

Dies: A = (B of No. 16)/1 (a).

A " /2 (c) (d).

B = (C of No. 16)/3 (b).

18. *Obv.*—Similar (the crescent almost covered by a die flan).

Rev.—Similar incuse, in lower r. angle crescent with horns outwards, in upper r. an olive leaf.

- (a) Athens (found in Crete, from the Canea hoard, not recorded by Seager); (b) 44.5 grs., B.M. [Pl. IX]; (c) 44.0 grs., G. C. Martin.

Dies: A (= A of Nos. 16 and 19)/1 (a) (c).

" " /2 (b).

19. *Obv.*—The same.

Rev.—Similar incuse, but one of the two oblique bands lies between the angles, and the third band runs to the middle of the side; crescent in lower r. angle, leaf in upper l.

- (a) 48.9 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, found in Crete); (b) 45.3 grs., Berlin; (c) 45.2 grs., G. C. Martin; (d) 45.5 grs., Paris (*Tr.*, Pl. CXCV).

Dies: A (= A of Nos. 16 and 18)/1 (a).

" " /2 (b) (c) (d).

20. *Obv.*—Similar, without crescent.

Rev.—Skew incuse of normal form with crescent in lower r. angle.

- (a) 47.0 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 174); (b) 45.5 grs., Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete); (c) 45.5 grs., E. T. Newell; (d) 48.3 grs., H. Weber (*Forrer, Weber Cat.*, 3620) [Pl. IX].

Dies: A/1 (a) (b) (c).

A/2 (d).

LATER GROUPS.

(1) with square incuse.

GROUP F.

21. *Obv.*—Land tortoise with oval shell, three rows of plates, and margin.

Rev.—Variant skew incuse with narrow bands; the two oblique bands are diagonals and the third is dropped to the middle point of the side.

N 12.3 grs., B.M. [Pl. IX].

22. *Obv.*—Similar, without margin.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 37.1 grs., formerly Leonardos (Schulman, 31. v. 1927, lot 231); (b) 37.8 grs., E. S. G. Robinson (Ratto, 4. iv. 1927, lot 1412) [Pl. IX].

Dies: A/1 (a).

B/2 (b).

23. *Obv.*—Similar, with margin.

Rev.—Similar, rough work; in l. angle crescent with horns inwards.

33.0 grs., B.M. (B.M.C. 175) [Pl. IX].

24. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar, without crescent (?).

44.3 grs., Berlin.

25. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Square incuse with narrow bands; two parallel with the sides and intersecting in the middle, the third running from the point of intersection to an angle.

36.9 grs. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClean Cat.* ii. 6051) [Pl. IX].

26. *Obv.*—Land tortoise with shell of trapezoid shape without margin and with five rows of plates.

Rev.—Similar.

(a) 42.5 grs., Berlin; (b) 37.0 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, found in Crete); (c) 41.4 grs., E. S. G. Robinson [Pl. IX].

Dies: A/1 (a) (b).

C/2 (b).

27. *Obv.*—Similar, with three rows of plates.

Rev.—Incuse as on Nos. 21–2 without crescent.

37.9 grs., Riechmann Sale Cat., xxx. 586.

28. *Obv.*—Similar, with margin.

Rev.—Incuse similar to No. 23, without crescent.

13.8 grs., obol, Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete)
[Pl. IX].

GROUP G.

29. *Obv.*—Similar, neater work; in field, l., crescent with horns inwards touching the shell.

Rev.—Skew incuse, punch struck; below on l. and r.
A Φ.

(a) 43.2 grs., B.M. (*B.M.C.* 185 = R. Stewart (S.W.H., 7. iii. 1838, lot 110), obtained in Asia Minor with *B.M.C.* 172 = No. 8 here) [Pl. X]; (b) 43.3 grs. overstruck, Paris (*Tr.*, ii. 3, col. 163, No. 136, Pl. CXCV. 15); (c) 44.9 grs., E. S. G. Robinson.

Dies: A/1 (a) (b).
A/2 (c).

30. *Obv.*—Similar, crescent uncertain (off flan).

Rev.—Similar, but A X.

38.9 grs., Candia Museum (found in Crete) [Pl. X].

GROUP H.

(2) With circular incuse.

31. *Obv.*—Land tortoise with oval shell with margin.

Rev.—Circular incuse with narrow bands, two intersecting and a third running from the point of intersection to the circumference; in lower segment on l. crescent with horns outwards.

32.5 grs. (cleaned), B.M. (Seager Bequest, found in Crete) [Pl. X].

Obv. die = C of No. 32.

32. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar, without crescent; broad bands.

(a) 47.5 grs., B.M.; (b) G. C. Martin 28.3 grs. (cleaned); (c) 39.5 grs., E. S. G. Robinson [Pl. X].

Dies: A/1 (a).

B/2 (b).

C (= *obv.* die of No. 31)/3 (c).

33. *Obv.*—Similar, coarse style.

Rev.—Similar, in lower segment on r. crescent with horns inwards.

Berlin [Pl. X].

34. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar, without crescent.

36.4 grs., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam (Grose, *McClean Cat.* 6052).

35. *Obv.*—Similar(?); the hind feet, which in size and disposition resemble the hind flippers of the loggerhead of Group C, suggest that the sea-turtle may be intended.

Rev.—Similar.

37.6 grs., Berlin (overstruck on late fourth-cent. coin of Argos of the types of *B.M.C.* 54 seqq.) [Pl. X].

36. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar, in lower segment on l. crescent with horns outwards; in upper on r. wreath(?).

(a) 36.9 grs. (cleaned) overstruck(?), G. C. Martin [Pl. X].

(b) Yale University.*

* I am indebted to Mr. S. P. Noe for the information as to the existence of this coin.

37. *Obv.*—Land tortoise with shell of trapezoid shape with five rows of plates, without margin.

Rev.—Similar, but positions of crescent and wreath reversed.

40.1 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, obtained in Crete, overstruck on coin of Argos with crescent symbol, *B.M.C.* 60) [Pl. X].

Obv. die = that of No. 38.

38. *Obv.*—The same.

Rev.—Similar, but wreath in lower segment on r., crescent on l.

32.0 grs., Candia Museum (found in Crete).

Obv. die = that of No. 37.

39. *Obv.*—Similar, with three rows of plates.

Rev.—Similar, without symbols.

11.7 grs. obol, B.M. overstruck [Pl. X].


40. *Obv.*—Land tortoise (?) (or sea-turtle), as on Nos. 35-6, without margin.

Rev.—Similar, in lower section on l. fleuron.

10.3 grs., obol, H. Weber (Forrer, *Weber Cat.*, ii. 3637) [Pl. X].

GROUP I.

41. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle (?) with shield-shaped shell and margin, the hind flippers arranged as on Group C; each margin fringed with a series of oblique parallel lines (the ripples caused by its passage through the water?).

Rev.—Circular incuse with broad flat bands, modified from the arrangement of the previous group into the pattern ; in the middle segment on r. crescent, horns outwards.

37 grs., B.M. [Pl. X].

42. *Obv.*—Similar, without ripples.

Rev.—Similar, but crescent in lower segment on r.

40.0 grs., H. Weber (Forrer, *Weber Cat.*, No. 3623).

43. *Obv.*—Sea-turtle(?) with rectangular shell, detail of plates and feet obscured.⁹

Rev.—Similar, but crescent below on l.

42.5 grs., Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete).

44. *Obv.*—Similar, with margin and four rows of plates.

Rev.—Similar, but crescent as on No. 41.

(a) Athens (found in Crete, from the Canea hoard, not recorded by Seager); (b) 39.8 grs., B.M. (B.M.C. 176) [Pl. X].

Dies: A/1 (a).
 B/2 (b).

45. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar, without crescent.

40.1 grs., Berlin [Pl. X].

The arrangement of the last three groups is perhaps more convenient than scientific; for instance, some coins of H and I follow very closely on C and D. But while another criterion (say the shape of the shell) would have varied their composition, there is more in common between the members of each group as they stand. Chronologically no line can be drawn between F, G, H, I; A, B, C, D, E precede them, the first two certainly, the rest probably, in the order given.

All groups except B and E have peculiarities of type, style, or fabric which distinguish them from the normal, contemporary Aeginetan coinage and at the same time link them with each other. Thus the remarkable representation of the turtle with complete shell markings found in Group A (it is discussed below, p. 185) is further developed in Group C, where, by

⁹ It is possible that the land-tortoise is intended here and on the following coins, just as the identity of the animal in Group G is sometimes uncertain, e.g. No. 36.

a curious modification, the hind flippers are turned out-and upwards, in a way known neither to the normal Aeginetan series nor, indeed, to Nature herself. This modification is handed on to Group D, and appears occasionally even in H (Nos. 35-6 and 40) and I (No. 41). Other peculiarities of the same nature are an almost "barbarous" roughness of style accompanied by a tendency to represent the plates of the shell by mere rows of dots. This roughness, though not unknown in the earlier groups (e.g. Nos. 6 of A, 10 of C, 12 of D), is especially common in the later. Here the shapes become grotesque, now and then with four or five rows of plates on the shell (e.g. Nos. 26, 37, 44), and it is sometimes doubtful whether the sea-turtle or land tortoise is intended. In fact it is clear that the engravers were copying other coins rather than working from nature. A study of the reverses also reveals common, abnormal, features. After the establishment of the "skew" incuse (from which all other patterns are developed) there is a constant tendency for its component lines to intersect in the middle of the square. This is not unknown at Aegina, but it is fair to say that there the equally constant tendency is for the point of intersection to lie noticeably in one angle of the square. Other peculiarities are the unusually broad bands found in Group C and sometimes in D (No. 11), E (No. 19), I (Nos. 41-4); the curious turns given to the pattern on Nos. 21-3 of F, and in I (of which the latter even suggests a monogram); and above all the *circular* incuse of Groups H and I directly framing the linear pattern and not, as on the latest coins of Aegina herself (*B.M.C.*, 166 *seqq.*), enclosing an inner square frame.

It will perhaps be objected that while some of the later and rougher coins may not be Aeginetan, there is no reason to separate either the staters of Group A or Groups B and E from the ordinary Aeginetan series. Group A differs from all other coins of Aegina in the representation of the type. The shape of the fully marked shell and the long trailing hind feet show that the sea-turtle is intended, and it will be agreed that the result is a good deal more satisfactory than the normal Aeginetan representation of a shield-shaped boss with a row of dots down the middle. Earle Fox (*Cor. Num.*, pp. 35-6), was the first to notice this modification, though he still regarded the coins as Aeginetan. The ground for suggesting that they were struck elsewhere may be stated as follows. There is considerable development in the treatment from the earliest, quite archaic, No. 1 with the tiny bird-like head to the competent and realistic No. 5. This development is accompanied by a development of the square incuse from the earliest (Nos. 1-3) through an intermediate (No. 4) to the windmill pattern (No. 5). On the somewhat later, though rougher, drachm No. 6 we find the incuse in its final form, with skew pattern, as on the true coins of Aegina which immediately precede the Athenian conquest. The group therefore must cover a considerable period of time. If the coins belong to a single issue, representing an unsuccessful attempt to vary the conventional type, they might be fitted into the Aeginetan series. But it is more difficult to believe that in an "international" currency like the Aeginetan, where uniformity is of the first importance, a variant representation was permitted to recur sporadically at the considerable intervals demanded by the develop-

ment of style and fabric. Further, Group A is linked by its peculiar type directly with C and therefore indirectly with D, all of which have an un-Aeginetan quality. Lastly, No. 4 of A has a symbol on the obverse,¹⁰ a crescent beside the shell. As the presence of this symbol is the main ground, apart from provenance, for regarding groups B and E as not Aeginetan, its claims as a criterion must be examined in detail. The argument may be stated as follows: No symbol except the crescent occurs on the obverse of any coin with turtle or tortoise types at any time. No symbol except the crescent occurs on the reverse of any such coin before the time of Alexander.¹¹ When other symbols do begin, e.g. acorn or dolphin (*B.M.C.*, 166, 187), they perform the same function as the difference letters, O, ΔI, &c. (*B.M.C.*, 183, 200), which also appear on the later issues. The function of the crescent is different; it appears on coins of widely different date; it appears on the obverse and reverse indifferently, sometimes on both; and it appears usually on coins which for some reason or other stand outside the normal Aeginetan series (Groups A, C, D, F, G, H, I). There is therefore a strong presumption that the crescent has, either directly or indirectly, a local significance and that the two groups B and E (which show the crescent on every coin) must be separated from the normal Aeginetan series, though they do not show peculiarities of style

¹⁰ This may have been present in No. 5 also, see p. 174, above.

¹¹ It is clear from the evidence of finds and the development of fabric, &c., that the dating of the Aeginetan *testudo* coinage must be prolonged, that e.g. *B.M.C.*, 166-71, 187-204 with narrow bevelled incuse bands, and sometimes symbols and ethnic, were not struck before the end of the fourth century.

otherwise associated with the crescent. These two groups are perfectly homogeneous and linked internally by die-couplings: further, though the style is normal, the fabric of B at least is not, both type and incuse being designed on a larger scale than the corresponding true Aeginetan hemidrachm (*B.M.C.*, 107-12). Earle Fox's explanation¹² of the crescent, which is based on one variety of Group C only, does not cover all the facts. According to him the symbol was borrowed from the Athenian coinage and introduced to mark the coins issued at Aegina between the conquest of the island in 458 and the final expulsion of the Aeginetans in 431. Apart from the inherent unlikelihood of the Athenians permitting any coinage at all, the symbol accompanies so many different styles and varieties of type, including land tortoise as well as sea-turtle, that a period of only twenty-seven years for its use would be impossible.

An examination of the provenance of the coins themselves strongly supports the conclusion that the crescent symbol is evidence of non-Aeginetan origin and indicates the locality in which they were probably struck. Comparative figures are given in the accompanying table for the coins with and without crescent respectively; it should be reiterated that the few coins without crescent are inseparably linked by peculiarities of style, fabric, and even by die-coupling to the crescent series.

It will be seen that of the 113 coins described above, the provenance of just over a quarter is recorded, and of this quarter nine-tenths were found in Crete. The figures for those coins which actually bear the crescent

¹² *Corolla Num.*, pp. 39-40.

are even more striking: the provenance of a third of the 82 specimens is recorded, and eight-ninths of this third were found in Crete. Records of collecting in Crete point to the same conclusion. Besides the Seager collection the Museum has received another

GROUP	TOTAL IN GROUP	CRESCENT SYMBOL			PROVENANCES							
		(a) Present	(b) Absent	(c) Doubtful	TOTAL KNOWN	CRETE			ASIA MINOR			ELSE-WHERE
						(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	
A	13	1	11	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	7	7	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
C	25	25	—	—	8	6	—	—	2	—	—	—
D	11	11	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
E	23	23	—	—	6	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
F	11	1	9	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
G	4	3	—	1	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
H	13	6	7	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
I	6	5	1	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	113	82	23	3	30	24	2	1	3	—	—	—

small collection formed there by Lt.-Col. J. S. Wilson. In addition, the late Dr. Xanthoudides very kindly furnished me with particulars of all coins of Aegina under his care in the Candia Museum, and Col. J. S. Cameron has generously allowed me to study and use the important collection which he made during his residence in the island. The Canea hoard published by Seager

(*Cretan Coin Hoard*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 28) may also be drawn upon for similar evidence, which is perhaps best explained in tabular form :

	Seager	Cameron	Wilson	Candia Mus.	Canea hoard
Total No. of coins with turtle-tortoise types	13	16	4	28	5 ¹³
No. with crescent, &c.	7	6	2	8	3 ¹³

In view of the rarity of these coins compared with the rest of the Aeginetan series the relatively high proportion found in Crete is very significant.

Conversely an examination of finds made elsewhere yields a purely negative result. None of these coins occurred in the Andritsaena, Abae, Cranidi, Myron, Olympia, or Tripolitza hoards,¹⁴ which otherwise contain between them Aeginetan coins of all periods. None appear to have been found during the excavations in Aegina, and most remarkable of all there are none, except the two from the Canea hoard, in the National Numismatic Museum at Athens, where more than anywhere else one might expect to find them if they had really been struck in Aegina, or circulated in mainland Greece.¹⁵ The evidence from the overstruck coins which I have been able to study points the same way. While

¹³ One in the Seager Coll.

¹⁴ For detailed references see S. P. Noe's *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 25.

¹⁵ In this connexion I must express my indebtedness to Professor Thiersch, who in the course of correspondence most kindly made inquiries for me as to coins found during the excavations at Aegina. No detailed record has been published of such coins, though one or two pieces are mentioned by Furtwängler. Any crescent coins among them would presumably have passed into the National Museum at Athens, where the coins found were deposited.

it is notoriously difficult to distinguish the details of such pieces, at least five drachms and an obol of Phaestus and a drachm of Gortyna in the B.M. are overstruck on turtle or tortoise types, and Mr. Newell possesses a similar drachm of Phaestus: eight in all. Of two drachms and the obol of Phaestus and the drachm of Gortyna no more can be said. Of the rest, two are overstruck on coins of groups C-D with the hind flippers turned up, another actually on No. 20 of E,¹⁶ and Mr. Newell's piece on a coin of C, the crescent on the reverse being partially clear. This argument from provenance must, however, be used with great caution. The currency of Crete seems at all times to have included many foreign coins. For instance, the Canea hoard (Seager, *Cretan Coin Hoard*, *pass.*) contained among other mainland coins 129 tetrobols of Histiaea. Coins of Cyrene are found both in their natural state and also overstruck in considerable numbers. The same is true with coins of Argos, especially the later fourth- and third-century coins, the hemidrachms in particular being constantly overstruck at places like Polyrrenium (e.g. *B.M.C.*, 1-3, with four others acquired since) and elsewhere. There is therefore as little reason to suppose that such coins do not belong to Cyrene or Argos as that the coins described above do not belong to Aegina. The answer to this objection is twofold. In the first place, the number of crescent coins found in Crete is large out of all proportion compared either with the number of crescent coins

¹⁶ By a freak the tortoise head of the undertype is quite undamaged and its curious loaf-like shape enables us to identify the actual die.

found elsewhere, or with the number of other Aeginetan coins found in Crete. In the second, it is just these coins which generally have something in style or fabric to distinguish them from the normal Aeginetan issues. The same does not hold good for the Argive hemidrachms. Their style and fabric is uniform, and there is nothing to distinguish those found in Crete from the rest.

It remains to see whether we can find positive points of connexion with Crete in the peculiarities of type, style, denomination, and symbol which mark the turtle-tortoise coinage; at this point it will be well to describe a few Cretan coins which may help us.

46. *Obv.*—Land tortoise with full markings exactly as No. 20.

Rev.—Bull's head r., above $\text{KY}\Delta\Omega$; dotted circle.

AR (a) 9.6 grs., B.M.; (b) 10.8 grs., B.M. (H. Weber, Forrer, *Weber Cat.*, 4652, Sir H. Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 20, No. 30, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. Suisse*, 1917, p. 57, Pl. III. 22) [Pl. X]. Weber, in publishing the coin, doubtfully read $\text{KY}\Theta\text{N}$ and assigned it accordingly to Cynthus. Imhoof makes no suggestion. The last two letters are not so clear as the first two, but I think there is no doubt that the reading given above is correct. Though the bull's head is not otherwise found at Cydonia it is a characteristically Cretan type, and the practice among Cretan cities of copying each other's types is too common to need illustration.

47. *Obv.*—Head of nymph r. with wreath of vine leaves.

Rev.—Square incuse pattern of the type of Nos. 25-6 with narrow bands.

At Berlin (Seager, *Cretan Coin Hoard*, p. 7) [Pl. X].

48. *Obv.*—The same die (?).

Rev.—The same pattern formalized with broad bands as on later coins of Cydonia.

R 35.8 grs., formerly in the Seager Coll.¹⁷ [PL. X]
(Seager, *l.c.*).

"ORION."

49. *Obv.*—Amphora, on l. crescent, horns inwards.

Rev.—Skew incuse with narrow bands.

R (a) 10.1 grs., B.M. (from the Canea Find, Seager, *Cretan Coin Hoard*, No. 64); (b) 19.4 grs., Col. J. S. Cameron (*Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 386, No. 22) [PL. X].

These coins go with others of the same obverse type, but with a dolphin on the reverse which Svoronos (*Crète*, p. 331) has doubtfully assigned to Orion. The provenance points to western Crete, though the evidence is quite inadequate for his attribution, which is here used for convenience' sake only. Svoronos describes the obverse as a "vase d'une forme très rare". The form as he sees it is more than "très rare", it is unknown, and what he has taken for a third handle is really the familiar crescent placed with horns inward to the type, exactly as on Group G (Nos. 29-30). The skew pattern of the incuse reverse is also exactly the same on both.

POLYRRHENIUM.

50. *Obv.*—Bull's head facing filleted; between the horns
ΥΛΟΓ.

Rev.—Head of Artemis-Dietyinna r. wearing diadem (the details uncertain owing to overstriking); to l. and r. of neck, crescent, horns outwards, and AX.

¹⁷ It was no longer in the Seager collection when this passed into the B.M.

R 16.1 grs., B.M. (Seager Bequest, obtained at Canea in Crete) [Pl. X], cp. Svoronos, *Crète*, p. 279, No. 18, who gives another variety (No. 19) without the legend.

Generally speaking the imitation of Peloponnesian types is common in Crete. Besides the head of the Hera at Cnossus, the stater of Chersonnesus with the types of Stymphalus, and the lesser known obols of Lisus copied directly from the similar denomination at Sicyon (Svoronos, *Crète*, p. 199), the bronze coins of Tyllisus and Lyttus, modelled on coins of Argos (for which see the Appendix below, Nos. 51-3), may be cited. There is thus nothing unlikely in the type of Aegina being copied in Crete, and indeed there is a certain example at Cydonia on No. 46, though I hope to show that we have to do with something more than occasional copying.

As regards style, the inequality of the work, sometimes very neat (No. 20) and again ludicrously rough (Nos. 21-6), is characteristically Cretan. So is the naturalism (which can exist side by side with it) displayed in the rendering of the shell in Groups A and C and the representation of the water-ripples on No. 41. We find the incuse reverse persisting into the fourth and third centuries at Cydonia and "Orion" (Nos. 47-9). The unique gold coin (No. 21) is quite out of place in the regular Aeginetan series, but goes happily, both for denomination and fabric, with the rough gold coins of western Cretan origin which are usually collected under Hyrtacina and Lisus (Svoronos, *Crète*, p. 198). The crescent is at home at Cydonia, presumably as the symbol of Artemis-Dictynna, whose worship was widespread in the western end of Crete. It also occurs as symbol or type at Tanus, "Orion", Polyrrhenium (in

conjunction with Artemis, No. 50), and Cnossus, all, except the last, also in the western end of the island.

Cydonia became an Aeginetan colony on the ejection of the Samians, c. 515 B.C. Since the Athenians found it desirable in 429, during the Peloponnesian war, to attack the place, it is possible, though there is no definite literary evidence, that the colony had been further reinforced by refugees in 458, when Aegina was conquered, or in 431, when the original inhabitants were expelled. The coinage of Cydonia, as we know it, does not begin before the latter part of the fourth century, and I suggest that groups A-E of the crescent coins are its earlier coinage. The staters of Group A fall within the late sixth and fifth centuries. Group B, also of the fifth century, is peculiar in showing the true Aeginetan representation of the sea-turtle intruding for a moment among the local types. The T-shaped pattern on the shell and the skew incuse show it to be contemporary with the last coins of Aegina issued before the conquest of the island. It may be suggested that this momentary change of type (there seems to be only one die) is due to a sudden influx of refugees. Group C is probably not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century: a specimen (No. 8 (c)) in tolerably good condition even occurred in the Canea hoard, which Seager dates as late as c. 150 B.C.¹³ The "magistrate's" initial A on the obverse of No. 8 (one die only) has no parallel. To the objection that this letter after all is really the initial of the ethnic of Aegina, the answer is that (1) No. 8 cannot be separated from the rest of the coins here collected whose non-Aeginetan character I hope to have established; (2) the

¹³ *Cretan Coin Hoard*, pp. 9 seqq.

occurrence of such a letter in such a place would be equally remarkable at Aegina; (3) the evidence from provenance is especially strong for this particular issue, of which three specimens come from Crete, including two from the actual site of Cydonia, only four provenances being known in all. In Group D the type, though a sea-turtle (with the characteristic modification of the hind flippers inherited from C), is already influenced by the altered type which the mother-city adopted in the fourth century; and in Group E the change to land tortoise is definitely made. The later groups F-I are not so homogeneous; the crescent symbol is often omitted (of two coins from the same obverse die, Nos. 31 and 32 c, one bears it on the reverse, the other not), and it is probable that some of the coins (e.g. the gold obol No. 21 and Group G) may belong to other cities of western Crete; such promiscuous use of types is easily paralleled in the island.

Group G (Nos. 29, 30) stands by itself: the horns of the crescent on the obverse are turned inwards towards the type as on the coins of "Orion", No. 49 above; the letters **AΦ** and **AX** appear in the compartments of the incuse; and the latter, to use a convenient if inaccurate term, is punch- not anvil-struck. I would bring No. 30, which reads **AX**, into close connexion with the little coin of Polyrrenium bearing *crescent* symbol and **AX** described above (No. 50), and assign the group to that place. The circular incuse of Groups H and I is an interesting development, and the coins which bear it may come down as late as the third or even the second century. In Group H the overstriking on the coins of Argos should be noted. Such overstriking is common in Crete, particularly at Polyrrenium (see p. 190 above).

In the same group the wreath and crescent symbols on the reverse bring Nos. 36-8 close to each other, though there is considerable difference in the representation of the tortoise. Group I is remarkable for the further development of the incuse pattern into what appears to be a monogrammatic form. In view of the development of the same skew incuse pattern at Argos into a capital **A** is it too fanciful to suggest that the same pattern has here been developed into a monogram representing **KY**, initials of Cydonia?

I append a summary of the main conclusions and of the somewhat detailed arguments leading up to them. Certain coins currently attributed to Aegina, principally hemidrachms both of sea-turtle and land-tortoise types, stand out from the general series by peculiarities of style, fabric, &c., most of them being marked by the crescent symbol. Similar peculiarities mark the coins of Crete, and in Crete these coins are habitually found. In western Crete, too, and especially at Cydonia, the crescent is of frequent occurrence, probably as the symbol of Artemis-Dictynna. Cydonia was an Aeginetan colony; its accepted coinage does not begin till the latter part of the fourth century, and the smaller denominations down to the second century still show the influence of Aeginetan coinage in the incuse pattern sometimes adopted for the reverse. This influence may also be noted elsewhere in the same district, e. g. on the coins given to "Orion". It is suggested that the earlier of the coins under discussion form the early coinage of Cydonia, and that most of the later come from the same mint, though some may have been struck at other cities of western Crete, for instance Polyrrhenum.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

APPENDIX.

I take the opportunity of publishing three more Cretan coins which show a somewhat similar copying of Peloponnesian types.

LYTTUS.

51. *Obv.*—Eagle standing r., with closed wings.

Rev.— Λ AY, in square incuse.

\mathcal{A} 120 mm., Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete).

52. *Obv.*—Wolf's head l.

Rev.—The same die.

\mathcal{A} (a) B.M. (Earle Fox Bequest from Crete, *Num. Chron.* 1898, p. 293, No. 21); (b) Col. J. S. Cameron (found in Crete).

Were it not for the provenance and the fact that the second coin is indubitably from the same reverse die as the first, one would hesitate to separate it from the regular Argive series (*B.M.C. Pelop.*, p. 143, No. 96–105). The eagle of No. 51 is the regular type of Lyttus, and it must be confessed that there is very little difference to be seen between the wolf's head of No. 52 and the boar's head as represented on the later bronze coins of the city (cp. Svoronos, *Crète*, Pl. XXII. 4–6).

The influence of the Argive reverse type is also clear on the following coin of Tyllisus and on the known coins of Olus (Svoronos, *ibid.*, Pl. XXII. 28–31), though here Λ replaces A.

TYLLISUS.

53. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r. laureate, the hair rolled, with loose ends hanging over neck; dotted circle.

Rev.—A; beneath cross-bar, horn of Cretan goat; TYAI | ΣION along either side of the gable.

\mathcal{A} (a) (b) B.M. (Seager Bequest); (c) Col. J. S. Cameron. All found in Crete.

Fortunately the full ethnic leaves no doubt as to the attribution of this coin. The head is, I think, male, and therefore represents the Apollo who appears on the reverse of the staters with the branch, bow, and goat's head, and sometimes the inscription ΤΥΛΙΣΙΟΣ (Svoronos, *Crète*, pp. 329 *seqq.*). Col. Cameron draws my attention to the very close likeness which this Apollo head bears to that on the similar bronze coin of Apollonia (Svoronos, *Προσθήκαι*, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, Pl. II. 5). He also points out the curious fact that a large A has been occasionally added to both obverse and reverse dies of Tylisian staters (e. g. *Crète*, Pl. XXX. 31 *obv.*, and the reverse of a Seager coin in the B. M.). Only one other bronze coin of Tylisus is known (*ibid.*, p. 330, No. 9).

E. S. G. R.

NOTE.

Since writing the above I have ascertained that one of the coins from the Canea hoard now in the Athens Museum (not recorded by Seager in his list) is from the same obverse die as the coins described under No. 20. The reverse is obscure, but apparently has no crescent. Thus another coin of Cretan provenance must be added to Group E in the first Table and the number of non-Aeginetan "tortoises" in the Canea hoard raised to four.

VIII.

A LOST COINAGE IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

PROBABLY most of our Fellows have come across Mr. Allan Fea's latest book, *The Loyal Wentworths*,¹ or even an older and half-forgotten history, published in 1854 by Dr. S. Elliott Hoskins, entitled *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, from which Mr. Fea gives long extracts in modernized English and spelling.

But there is so much of numismatic interest in the following letter from Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, to Sir Edward Nicholas, quoted by both authors, that I tried and succeeded eventually in tracing the letter to its original source,² and I am now able to bring the principal facts before you, although I may be carrying coals to Newcastle.

The document throws light perhaps on some unsatisfactory coins, which we are apt to attribute loosely to the mints of the West of England.

I, myself, continuing a work started by the late Mr. Willson Yeates,³ ventured tentatively to attribute

¹ Published by John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1928, to whom I owe permission to quote.

² The letter is No. 2447 in the *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers at the Bodleian Library*, vol. i, pp. 362-3. The Bodleian shelfmark is MS. *Clarendon State Papers* 29, folios 107 and 108. It was partly printed in *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii, p. 341, but the portion relating to the Jersey coinage was nowhere printed until abstracted and modernized by Dr. Hoskins, who gave no reference to the source.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. xv, xvi, xvii.

to the Confederated Catholics of Ireland in 1642 certain pieces of strange shape and workmanship, but of more or less pure metal, and approximately conformable in weight to the reduction by one-fifth of the old and correct English standard, a measure made legal by a proclamation of September 1642.

I have even thought that possibly to the same emergency coinage might be due certain shillings of poor workmanship and strange device.

But poor as are these coins, mostly shillings, they do not often appear adulterated. There are, however, others of base metal, and of these the weight often varies as much as does the purity.

I have thought that amongst those with curious mint-marks we might perhaps identify a lost coinage of the year 1646-7 in the Isle of Jersey—given that roses, harps, and fillets described by a local contemporary historian can be construed as applying to mint-marks and not forming, as he appeared to think, an important part of the reverse design.⁴ The exact coins as mentioned by Chevalier, a *vingtenier* of St. Heliers, have so far baffled discovery. It seems possible that all existing pieces were called in. Be this as it may, it seems worth while to search amongst blundered, badly struck, and light-weight coins of the later issues of Charles I to see if we may find any which can be attributed to a certain Colonel, afterwards Sir William Smyth, or Smith, in Jersey, according to a letter written under date February 24, 1646, by Lord Clarendon,

⁴ *Journal et Recueil des Choses Remarquables en l'Isle de Jersey*. A manuscript dealing with the years 1643 to 1650, by John Chevalier, transcribed and quoted by Dr. Hoskins in *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, vol. i, p. 416.

then Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.⁵

Hyde was remaining in the Channel Islands after the departure of Prince Charles, whilst Nicholas, who still served the King in all that he was able until the latter's execution, had, after an attempt to join the Prince in Jersey, betaken himself to Caen, there to await events.

It appears that William Smyth, a man born of a loyalist family, but who individually had first taken the Parliamentary side in the Civil War, had joined the Royalist cause in 1643, two years before the death of his father, Robert Smyth, who was slain in 1645 bravely fighting for the King. William was in the beginning of the year 1644 (New Style) between Oxford and Newport Pagnell, at Hillesden House, the residence of the loyal Sir Alexander Denton, fortifying the house and courting the daughter of his host, and finally taking the command.⁶ But Hillesden was compelled to surrender and in March was burnt to the ground, Sir Alexander and Smyth being both taken prisoners. The latter, according to the Verney Memoirs, *escaped*, according to Hyde was *liberated* "on an exchange" which would, as Hyde said, "have redeemed the best man"; Hyde probably alluded to

⁵ This letter has been collated for me at the Bodleian with the copy by William Edgeman, Sir Edward Hyde's secretary. I owe my thanks to Miss Parker at Oxford for a very careful revision. The letter begins "Sr." and ends "I am", &c., and is endorsed "L. Secretary Nicholas, Feb. 24", and dated "Jerseye y^e 24th of Febr. 1646". It is a long letter dealing with many other matters (see *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii, p. 341) concerning Digby and Hopton and various friends of Hyde and Nicholas.

⁶ *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, by Margaret, Lady Verney, vol. i, p. 320.

Sir Alexander, who died still a prisoner on January 1, 1645-6. Be this as it may, Smyth was still himself a prisoner on August 15, 1644, and had married Sir Alexander's daughter, Margaret, five weeks before. Liberated then in August 1644, we know nothing definite of his movements until, as Hyde tells us, "whilst the Prince was still in Cornwall", Smyth came with credentials from the King at Hereford, found Colepepper and others ready to help him, and wormed himself into the councils of the young Prince, but did not consult the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning a venture in coinage, which he first proposed to make at Truro and then in the Isle of Jersey. He had obtained the support of John Ashburnham and of some of the Council of Charles I, and had proposed to erect (or revive) a mint at Truro in a legitimate way, representing that the merchants of "St. Malloe", trading in the West country, lost so much on their pistoles and pieces of eight that they wished their bullion coined into English money, paying "20 in the hundred" for the accommodation.

We shall later see that Smyth represented that he had all materials ready at St. Malo, but so far as we can ascertain there is no suggestion that a mint was in operation there, as it had been in Cornwall.

The mint at Truro was no new thing, for although we know little of its operations under Smyth, the "power to coin money" had been granted to Richard Vyvyan as early as November 1642, and it is stated by Miss Coate in her *The Duchy of Cornwall 1640-1660*,⁷ that "he had done so at Truro and Exeter in 1643". Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren had, as

⁷ *The Duchy of Cornwall 1640-1660*, by Mary Coate, pp. 159-60

is explained by Miss Coate, who had access to the Vyvyan manuscripts, "not only secured the magazine and trained band of Truro for the King, but exchanged in 1643 his duties as Colonel of a Regiment of Foot for the Mastership of the Mint at Exeter". The commission of January 3, 1643-4, which empowered Sir Richard to erect a Mint, is in the possession of Sir Courtenay Vyvyan of Trelowarren, to whom Miss Coate expresses her thanks for permission to quote. The mint at Exeter produced, as we know, some of the finest coins of the Civil War, and it is unthinkable that Sir Richard would have given his countenance to defective weight or workmanship at Truro. We now have available the article by Miss Coate in the *Num. Chron.* on the Truro Mint (see pp. 213-45 below). But she has been so kind as to tell me she has found no connexion between Vyvyan and Smyth or his graver Vaughan. Neither could Smyth have had access to Vyvyan's tools after the latter retired from Exeter, for she informs me that these remained in the hands of the local Parliamentary Committee until 1650. From such sources as are open to me Smyth's movements after his liberation are not known.

It appears, however, that he must only have arrived at Prince Charles's Court on his quest to reopen the Truro Mint towards the end of the latter's wanderings in the West, which lasted from the March of 1645 to the same month in 1646, ending in his arrival in Jersey on April 17 in the latter year. It seems possible that the meeting between young Charles and Smyth was so late as in Truro, where the Prince passed some

days in February before leaving for Pendennis, going thence to Scilly, where he remained six weeks before proceeding to Jersey.⁸

Prince Charles had been sent into the West by his father on March 4, 1644-5, the King considering "that himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom, and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business out of his own sight".⁹

The Council appointed to attend him to Bristol, his first intended destination, included Colepepper as well as Hyde, and these two, respectively Master of the Rolls and Chancellor of the Exchequer, could never agree. We may therefore take *cum grano* any disparagement of Lord Colepepper or John Ashburnham's friends, criticism in which "honest Ned Hyde", as the King called him, was apt to indulge, although he assured the Duke of Richmond that he considered Ashburnham "an honest man" and told the King that he "had a great esteem of Lord Colepepper, though he might have at some times passions, which were not convenient". But Hyde suffered neither fools nor knaves gladly.¹⁰

We see then that Colonel Smyth appeared "when", as Hyde writes, "we were still in Cornwall"; unfortunately no date nor township is given beyond that he brought credentials "from ye King at Hereford", whither Charles I had betaken himself soon after Naseby (fought on June 14, 1645) and whence came his celebrated letter to the Prince under date June 23,

⁸ *Clarendon's History*, p. 584, edition of 1843.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 972, 973.

1645,¹¹ a letter read by the young Charles to his Council shortly before he left for Jersey in April, 1646.

But to return to Smyth. "To mee", says Hyde, "hee brought a short perfunctory lre from my Lord Digby, and from J. A. [John Ashburnham] to my Ld Culpeper his dispatch was of weight his buisnesse to erect a Minte at Truro, w^{ch} should yeild the King a vast profit . . . The King's dues by a speciall Warrant (w^{ch} I saw) to bee payd to Mr. Ashburnham." "What hee did in Cornwall", continues Hyde, "I know not, for you perceine hee was to haue noe relacon or reference to mee w^{ch} if you had been Chancello^r of the Excheqr, you would haue taken unkindly." Certainly Hyde was not prepossessed in Smyth's favour.

"Shortly after the Prince came hither" (namely to Jersey, whence Hyde dates his letter) "hee came to us hauing left Cornwall a fortnight before wee did."

"You must imagine my L^d Culpeper was forward to helpe him and here hee proposed to sett up his Mynt and assured us, that hee had contracted wth Merchants at St. Malloe to bring such quantity of Bullyon as would make y^e Revenue very considerable to y^e Prince."

We have seen that this created some surprise, and the Council wondered why the "Merchants of St. Malloe should desire to haue English money coyned", but this matter was, as Hyde tells us, explained, and "after seūall debates in w^{ch} (though there seemed noe convincing Argum^t to exspect much profit from it) there was not y^e least suggestion of inconuenience, hee pretending yt hee had all officers ready at S^t. Malloe and such as belonged to ye King's Mynt, and likewise

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 594.

his Com^a under the Great Seale (for hee pduced only y^e Warrant under the Sign Mannall). The Prince writt a lre to the Governo^r, Bayliffe and Jurates¹² to giue him countenance and assign him some conuenient place to reside in."

"Shortly after the Prince went away" (we have seen that he was at that time only in Jersey from April 17 to June 24, 1646) "the Colonel", continues Hyde, "proceedes, brings his Wife¹³ hither (who in truth is a sober woman) and takes a little house, remote from Neighbours, but pretended y^t the Prince his remoue and other accidents had hindred the advance of y^e service but y^t he hoped hereafter to proceede in it. Here he liued soberly and reseruedly. And after two or three moneths here was found much adulterate money, halfecrowne peices, w^{ch} had been put off by people belonging to him. One only Officer hee hath, an old Catholique, one Vaughan, who is a good Graver, but his all."

"The Governo^r, the gallant Sir George Carteret", who, continues Hyde, "is strangely ciuill to all men, but imoderately to such Gentlemen as haue seemed to serue the King in this Quarrell, was much perplexed, the ciuill Magistrates here taking notice of it and he sent to him to speake wth him, told him that he beleued his Educacon had not been to such Artificies and y^t hee might easily bee deceined by the man hee trusted, who was not of creditt enough to beare y^e burthen

¹² The Twelve Jurats constituted the Magistracy of the Islands with the Bailly as their head, see Falle's *History of Jersey*, chap. IV, p. 44, Durell's edition.

¹³ The daughter of Alexander Denton before mentioned; she was his first wife.

of such a trust, that if this Island fell into suspicion of such crafts their Trade would bee undone, and therefore (having shewed him some peices of money) desired him by no means to proceed in y^t design, till satisfaction might be given by the view of such officers, who were responsible for it."

"The Colonel denied some of y^e peices to bee of his coyning, but confessed others, and sayd it was by mistake too light but I had forgott", adds Hyde, "to tell you y^t he had assured mee 2 or 3 dayes before that hee had yet coyned none. To conclude (though much troubled), hee promised y^e Governo^r, not to proceede farther in it; then he came to mee and told mee a long and untoward discourse of a great trust between y^e King, Mr. Ashburnham and himself and one more w^{ch} hee would not name, but led mee to believe it was Mr. A's freind at Paris and y^t the designe originally was to coyne Dollers, by wth he could gaine a vast aduantage to y^e King; hee found mee not soe ciuill as he expected and therefore easily wthdrewe and the same day attempted ye Governo^r and offered him a strong Weekly bribe (enough to keepe you and mee and both our ffamilyes very gallantly) to coyne wth him and assist him: His reception was not much better there, soe y^t he hath since procured a good stout lfe from ye Prince to co^mand y^e Governo^r, Bayliffe and Jurates to giue him all countenance and to aduance the seruice. This will put an end to it, for ye Governo^r will deale freely wth the Prince though upon the confidence wee have still naughty new money."

Knowing as we do that Prince Charles had left Jersey for France in June 1646, and did not return

until September 1649, we must remind ourselves that Hyde, much opposed to his young master's departure, had remained in Jersey, writing his History, first at St. Heliers, and then at Elizabeth Castle with the Governor until June 26, 1648, a date beyond that of his letter.

Mr. Fea has told us much of the subsequent career of Smyth, who eventually returned to England, but apparently not sufficiently discredited to prevent his receiving a baronetcy from Charles II and from holding a considerable position among politicians and others in England after the Restoration.

In fact his character is ably summed up by Margaret, Lady Verney, the careful editor of the *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, in the words: "Amongst Monmouth's personal friends . . . was Sir William Smith to whom he gave his picture and with whose unstable character and ostentatious ways he had much in common."¹⁴ In the friendship with Monmouth and guardianship of Henrietta Baroness Wentworth, Mr. Fea has traced other discreditable dealings, which however do not bear upon numismatics but are to be found skilfully sifted by this well-known writer on Stuart subjects in his *The Loyal Wentworths*.

But Dr. Hoskins comes to our aid in his *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, basing his book mainly upon the contemporary testimony of John Chevalier, a vingtenier or tythingman of St. Heliers.¹⁵ This John Chevalier's *Journal et Recueil des Choses Remarquables*

¹⁴ *The Memoirs of the Verney Family*, vol. iv, p. 264.

¹⁵ A parish was divided into vingtaines, each under the control of a vingtenier whose office it was to take charge of the parish arsenal, and who was responsible for the twenty families under his care.

en l'Isle de Jersey arrivé pendant les Guerres Civiles is a manuscript to which Dr. Hoskins with some difficulty obtained access in the island. It extends from 1643 to 1650, thus covering, in the words of an eyewitness, the period of the young Prince's visits to Jersey, and Dr. Hoskins transcribes and translates this valuable document.

Chevalier gives us much additional information; he says that "a house was hired in Trinity parish, from one Michael de Guerdain, which was specially fitted up with furnaces for fusing the precious metals and with presses and dies for striking and stamping coin". He goes on to state "that the money herein coined consisted chiefly of halfcrowns, which passed current for thirty sous each".¹⁶ "The obverse of these pieces, called St. Georges, was stamped with an effigy of the King on horseback holding a drawn sword in his hand and the reverse impressed with roses and harps, proper to the royal arms, interlaced with fillets, crosses and other devices." "Some shillings were likewise coined and besides a small number of Jacobuses said to be worth twenty shillings apiece."

Under date May 1647, Chevalier reverts to the Mint "set up in Jersey some twelve months before, which at that time promised to be a profitable speculation". . . . "The manager, Colonel Smith", writes Hoskins, quoting the diaries, "was originally a landed proprietor and a man of good family in England, had been before the troubles master of one of his Majesty's provisional mints and by virtue of his office an honorary privy councillor."¹⁷

¹⁶ *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, vol. i, p. 416.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, Preface, p. viii, and vol. ii, p. 138.

"In a few months", concludes Dr. Hoskins, "the concern turned out a failure, partly owing to mismanagement, partly to alleged scarcity of bullion. Smyth, on becoming deeply involved, was forced to dispose not only of his household goods, but the greater part of the machinery, reserving merely the dies he had brought with him. Towards the end of May he sought refuge in France, intending, he said, to send his wife to England to compound for his estates."

Here let us leave him, but Dr. Hoskins says that, having personally assured himself of the reliability of Chevalier by collating his manuscript with other documents, he diligently sought without success for the queer coinage described above, although he admitted that Chevalier had said Smith "*étant à Jersey fit de la monnoie de quoi je ne dis rien*", thus touching lightly on the false coin or "naughty money" uttered by him.¹⁴ Dr. Hoskins only desisted from his search when he found the letter from Hyde, which he gives us almost *in extenso* but in modernized form, and to him we are indebted for the long and curious story of a fraudulent coinage of which the pieces have remained so far unidentified.¹⁵

Sir George Carteret, the Governor of the island, one of the most honourable and straightest men of the day, probably took all the steps in his power to call in and destroy this base coinage. But unlike Hyde, he was not deeply impressed with the personal depravity of Smith, and Hyde concludes this portion of his letter thus: "The reason of y^e Governo^r's exceeding tendernesse is his duty to the King to whom

¹⁴ *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, vol. ii, p. 139.

such a Comⁿ (w^{ch} is indeede a strang one) would draw much dishonor."

Was Carteret right in thinking that Smith was himself cheated and misled by his subordinate? The Verney Memoirs do not depict him as a thoroughly bad man. Mr. Fea, on the contrary, had no better opinion of him than had Hyde, especially in his relations with the Wentworth family. And we have seen that Chevalier admits that Smyth "*fit de la monnoie de quoi je ne dis rien*", whilst Hyde boldly asserts that it was "naughty money", "adulterate", and "too light".

The matter of interest to us remains in these problems.

Firstly, did Smyth coin "St. Georges" half-crowns in the curious design described by Chevalier, of legal tender, shillings, and Jacobuses? If so, these coins are it seems not to be found, and his allusions to "fillets, roses, and harps proper to the royal arms" should probably indicate only marks of difference in the field between "the crosses" or arms, or possibly mint-marks.

Secondly, if Smyth had sole possession of the dies, did he use them also to make his "naughty money" of improper alloy or defective weight, meaning them to pass as the legal tender of the authorized mint?

We see that he was unable to deny certain pieces, thereby suggesting that they were of the accepted type.

Thirdly, or did he with the assistance of his graver, Vaughan, make blundered copies of Tower and other coins, thinking that they would pass in the Channel Islands without suspicion that they came from his mint?

We have seen that he denied certain coins although they had been passed by his people, and had they not been so passed we might even think it possible that some of the base coinage in the island was not attributable to Smyth, and the coins which he "denied" were the work of some brothers named Messervey, of whom Chevalier¹⁹ speaks as convicted of clipping and counterfeiting coin in 1643.²⁰

Fourthly, and lastly, were some of the dies which Smyth brought with him already in use at the Truro mint, of which Sir Edward Hyde wrote to his colleague Sir Edward Nicholas, "What he did in Cornwall, I know not"?

In fact, in the words of Quintilian, "Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?", words which I found recently translated as follows in a current newspaper:

What was the crime? who did it? when was it done and where?

How done? and with what motive? who in the deed did share?²¹

HELEN FARQUHAR.

¹⁹ *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, vol. i, p. 253.

²⁰ These men, like Smyth, were of respectable lineage, and the royal clemency, obtained through Sir Philip de Carteret, Sir George's father-in-law, was extended to them. They retired to England, but continued their malpractices there and again got into trouble. They, however, profiting by the political disturbances of the time, contrived to return to Jersey, where they took part in a rebellion against their benefactor. One brother escaped once more, but Maximilian Messervey was executed in August 1645, on a revived charge of coining, on the ground that he had continued his frauds after receiving his pardon.

²¹ *Sunday Times*, April 15, 1928, translation by F. W. D'Evelyn.

VIII.

THE ROYALIST MINTS OF TRURO AND EXETER 1642-6.

[SEE PLATES XI-XIV.]

THE existence of a Royalist mint at Exeter during the Civil War has long been known to the numismatist; Snelling in 1763, Ruding in 1817, and Hawkins in 1841, all noted its three distinguishing mint-marks, the rose, the castle, and EX, and Hawkins enumerated the various types of its coinage as follows:—the gold unite and half-pound, the silver crown (8 types), the half-crown (14 types), the shilling (7 types), the sixpence (1 type), the groat (1 type), the threepence (1 type), the half-groat (2 types), the penny (1 type).

Again, the royal commission of Charles I of Jan. 3, 1643-4, empowering Sir Richard Vyvyan to erect a mint at Exeter, has also received some attention; it was printed in an abbreviated form in Black's *Oxford Docquets*¹ in 1837 and was quoted by Mr. H. Symonds in 1913, in his paper on "English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods".²

But although the fact of the Exeter mint, the name of its Master, and the character of its coinage are well known, less information has hitherto been available

¹ Black, W. H., *Docquets of Letters Patent and other Instruments passed under the Great Seal of Charles I at Oxford, 1642-1646*, 1837, p. 123.

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiii, 1913, p. 249. H. Symonds, "English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods".

on the history of the coinage of money in the West for the Royalist armies, prior to their capture of Exeter in September 1643, and the subsequent erection of the mint in that city; while almost equally limited has been our knowledge of the actual working and administration of the mint at Exeter.

It is now possible, in part, to remedy this lack of knowledge, from the private papers of Sir Richard Vyvyan, found by the writer among the Vyvyan manuscripts in the possession of Colonel Sir Courtenay Vyvyan, Bart., G.B., C.M.G., of Trelowarren, Cornwall, when looking for material for a study of "The Civil War in Cornwall". To Sir Courtenay Vyvyan my thanks are due for his kindness in giving me frequent access to his family papers, and to him and to the late Lady Vyvyan for much pleasant hospitality.

From these Vyvyan manuscripts, which comprise royal commissions, letters, and private account books, it is possible to throw some additional light upon the history of the Exeter mint and of its precursor at Truro, although many of the problems of both still remain unsolved.

In August 1642, when the Civil War broke out in Cornwall, Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren was one of the leading members of the Royalist party. He came of one of the oldest Cornish families, conspicuous in the Middle Ages for its turbulence, and since that period for its service to the Crown and to the Duchy. Sir Richard Vyvyan was the grandson of Hannibal Vyvyan,³ Sheriff of Cornwall in 1601, Captain of St. Mawes,⁴

³ Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, No. 9. List of Sheriffs in Cornwall.

⁴ Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1596, March 23. Account

Vice-Admiral of the Southern Shores, and son of Sir Francis Vyvyan, the Sheriff in 1617;⁵ in 1642 one of his uncles, Hannibal, was Comptroller of the Coinage of Tin for the Duchy of Cornwall and Keeper of the Prince's Gaol at Lostwithiel,⁶ and another, Roger, was one of the farmers from the Crown of the pre-emption of tin in the Duchy.⁷ Sir Richard himself had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford:⁸ he had sat for Penryn in April 1640, and for Tregony in November 1640,⁹ and on August 1, 1642, he received from the King's Commissioners of Array in Cornwall his commission as Colonel of the regiment of foot of the Hundred of Powder.¹⁰ At Michaelmas Sir Richard successfully secured the trained bands and arms of the town of Truro for the king,¹¹ and his private accounts show that he spent £110 "on arms for voluntiers at their first going out in his Ma^{ties} service", and more on raising a troop of horse for the king.¹²

of fees granted to Captain and officers of the garrison and Castle of St. Mawes, Hannibal Vyvyan, £118 12s. 6d.

⁵ *Ibid.*, List of Sheriffs of Cornwall.

⁶ Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1625, August 13. Grant to Hannibal Vyvyan for life of the office of Comptroller of the Coinage of Tin in Cornwall and Devon, and of the Keepership of the Gaol at Lostwithiel.

⁷ *Commons Journals*, vol. ii, p. 929, Jan. 16, 1642-3.

⁸ Boase, C. W., *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*, 1894, p. 280.

⁹ List of Members of Parliament, 1878.

¹⁰ Vyvyan MSS. Trelowarren, 1642, Aug. 1. Original Commission to Sir Richard Vyvyan, signed and sealed by "Warwick Mohun, Nicholas Slanning, Peter Courteney, Bevil Grenville, John Arundell of Trerise, ffrs. Bassett, Geo. Trevanion, John Trevanion, Walter Langdon, Jo. Arundell, Sa. Cosowarth".

¹¹ British Museum, King's Pamphlets, E. 124. 20, 1642, Oct. 27, "New Newes from Cornwall."

¹² Vyvyan MSS., "A particular of what money S^r Richard Vyvyan hath laid out and payd for his late Ma^{ties} service." Undated, in Sir Richard Vyvyan's hand.

On November 14, 1642, Sir Richard Vyvyan's responsibilities in the King's service were increased by a commission to coin money, issued to him by Charles I from Hampton Court, just after the set-back to the Royal forces at Turnham Green. The original commission, somewhat torn, but with its seal intact, is at Trelowarren; it empowers "our trusty and wel-beloved knight 'Sir Richard Vyvyan' to coyne or cause to be coyned at such place or places as you shall thinke fitting all such Bullion or plate of gold or silver, as shalbe delivered unto you by any of our subjects for our use, and to make the same with the dies, stamps and forms as the monies now current within our Realm of England are made", and finally "to deliver the Bullyon and Plate, soe by you coyned from tyme to tyme, to our trusty Sir Ralph Hopton, Knight, of the Bath, to whome we have given direcon for the same for our service".¹³ The commission does not, however, specify the place in which the mint was to be erected, nor the name of the graver to be employed.

On November 19, 1642, the Royalist leaders in Cornwall, Warwick Lord Mohun, Sir Ralph Hopton, Colonel William Ashburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Nicholas Slanning, wrote to Sir Richard Vyvyan at Trelowarren from the Royalist quarters at Launceston¹⁴ giving further directions as to the proposed mint: "We desire you to make yo^r speedy repaire to us, and to bring with you such materialls as shall best fit for that use, and to consider of a convenient

¹³ Vyvyan MSS. Original commission, 1642, Nov. 14. Charles I to Sir Richard Vyvyan.

¹⁴ Vyvyan MSS. Original letter to Sir Richard Vyvyan. Launceston, Nov. 19, 1642.

place for that service, wee conceave Bodmin or Liskeard most proper. It wilbe very necessarie that you make known to yo^r western gents and others what an acceptable service it wilbe to his Ma^{tie}. And that whosoever shall bringe in owne plate, shall receive for the loane thereof at the rate of 8^{li} ye Cent,¹⁵ and such securitie as shalbe without exception." Finally they added, "We desire you to speed awaie a trusty messenger to Marke Dethliffe of Gwennap, David Hawes of Redruth, and John Rogers of Godolphin for the procurage of Pyoners, and tooles, as well those that are to be bought as lent to the number of 7 or 8 dozen". The "pyoner" was the local term for a working miner,¹⁶ but two out of the three men mentioned were of the local gentry: John Rogers of Godolphin was John Rogers of Truthwall, near Godolphin, and a Royalist,¹⁷ while David Hawes of Redruth, "gentleman", was the elder brother of Captain Nicholas Hawes, a Royalist officer, and was himself fined £60, as one-sixth of the value of his estate, for his delinquency on May 31, 1650. Marke Dethliffe of Gwennap we have been unable to trace; unfortunately, there are no Parish Registers of Gwennap extant earlier in date than 1660, and his name is not to be found in the Heralds' Visitation of Cornwall, 1620. There is no evidence that any one of the three

¹⁵ Eight per cent. was the rate of interest allowed also by the Parliament for plate and money contributed to its service. See Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 1911, vol. i, p. 24, "Ordinance for raising money in London", August 26, 1642.

¹⁶ Lewis, G. R., *The Stannaries*, Boston, 1908, p. 99.

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 2nd Report, p. 98. MSS. of J. J. Rogers, Esq., of Penrose, include eleven letters from Charles Rogers to his father John Rogers of Truthwall, near Godolphin. Cf. also Boase and Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, vol. ii, p. 585.

men possessed any technical qualification for assisting in the coinage, but all three came from the mining area of Cornwall, from the neighbourhood of Helston and Truro, whence presumably skilled workers in metal and tools could easily be procured; for in both the stamping of tin was regularly carried on in accordance with the royal jurisdiction of the Stannaries.

Sir Richard Vyvyan's private papers do not reveal the preliminary steps taken by him to erect the mint, but it is evident from other sources that he established it not at Bodmin or Liskeard but at Truro. From the Mayors' Accounts of the Borough of Bodmin which I found among the municipal documents, it is evident that Sir Richard was more than once in Bodmin in the winter of 1642 and the spring of 1643, but there is no mention of a mint in the town, and as the accounts are remarkably detailed, it is improbable that if it had been erected there it would not have been mentioned.¹⁸ At Liskeard the Mayors' Accounts and the Court Rolls of the borough for the period 1637-47 have perished, and no evidence of a mint in that town is forthcoming.¹⁹ Although from the manuscripts at Mount Edgecumbe it is clear that silver plate for the king's cause was brought into Liskeard, as well as to other places, there is no proof that it was converted into coins at Liskeard, and the fact that the town was situated in the eastern part of the county where Parliamentary feeling was strongest, and where the

¹⁸ Bodmin Corporation MSS., Mayors' Accounts, 1642-60: "2 Nov. 1642. Set S^r Ri. Vivian and Mr. Trevanion when they dynd at Mr. Bonds 1 gallon of wine 3^s 4^d, Nov. 25 bestowed a pottle of burnt sack upon S^r Richard Vivian and Mr. Cosoworth, 3^s 0^d."

¹⁹ Allen, John, *History of the Borough of Liskeard*, 1856, p. 241.

danger of attack from Plymouth was possible, renders it unlikely that the mint was ever established there.²⁰

The case for believing that the mint was set up at Truro rests both on probability and direct documentary evidence. Not only was Truro a Stannary town and a port, but it was only twenty miles distant from Sir Richard Vyvyan's home at Trelowarren and ten miles from the harbour and castle of Pendennis, held by Sir Nicholas Slanning for the king; it was therefore conveniently situated both for procuring workers in metal and for the shipment of plate or coin. But the existence of the mint at Truro does not rest on probability only, for in the accounts of Abraham Biggs, Collector of the Royal Customs in the port of Fowey, for the period Michaelmas 1642 to June 5, 1644, occurs the entry: "Item for charges of horse and men to carry a truncke of the Lord Roberts his plate to Trewrow to the Mynt from Liskeard";²¹ and, although no date is appended, it is probable that it refers to the month of January 1643, when on January 19, after winning the battle of Braddock Down, Hopton occupied Liskeard, and the Cornish Parliamentarians, of whom Lord Robartes of Lanhydrock was chief, retreated to Plymouth. Unfortunately no additional evidence of the mint at Truro can be obtained from the Truro City manuscripts as the Mayors' Accounts for the period of the war are missing; but from the Rashleigh manuscripts, to which the late Mr. Evelyn Rashleigh of Stoketon, Saltash, kindly gave me access,

²⁰ *Hist. MSS. Comm., 2nd Report*, p. 23. *MSS. penes* Earl of Mount Edgcombe, 1643. April 18, List of plate brought in at Liskeard. April 24, at Killaton.

²¹ Clarendon MS. 1755, Bodleian Library, Oxford. "An accompt of Abraham Biggs, flowy. May 26, 1644."

further testimony is obtainable. Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly was a keen Royalist, and when on November 19, 1642, the Royalist commanders in Cornwall issued an appeal to "all persons of what qualitie or degree soever"²² to bring in their plate to Sir Richard Vyvyan to be coined, Jonathan Rashleigh was one of the first to respond, and in his private account he notes: "I brought soe much plate to be melted for the King's service at Trewroe as came to £104."²³ On April 10, 1643, at a general meeting of the Cornish Royalists at Bodmin, it was decided²⁴ in view of the urgent necessities of Hopton's army, to levy a weekly rate of £750 upon the county and to ask for a voluntary loan of silver plate. Of this plate Jonathan Rashleigh became one of the receivers: "I was one of the Receivers of Plate",²⁵ he says in his private accounts, and by order of the Council was "one of the men that brought in the plate". Soon, however, he found men unwilling to lend their plate, even on the terms of 8 per cent. interest, so he then gave security in his own name, and among his losses he enumerates £600, for which he says, "I stand bound to pay my neighbours for the plate they brought me for the King's use".²⁶

On May 16, 1643, Hopton's decisive victory over the Earl of Stamford at Stratton secured the supremacy of the King's cause in Cornwall, but in Devon the Parliamentary party was still strong, and it was not until

²² Vyvyan MSS. Original warrant, Nov. 19, 1642.

²³ Rashleigh MSS. at Stoketon, Saltash: Notes of his losses by Jonathan Rashleigh, 1644.

²⁴ British Museum, King's Pamphlets, E. 247. 25. *The Perfect Diurnall*, 1643, April 12.

²⁵ Rashleigh MSS.

²⁶ Rashleigh MSS.

September 4, 1643,²⁷ that Exeter capitulated to Prince Maurice and Sir John Berkeley after a siege in which the city had expended £18,497 upon its defence from June 19 to September 4, for if the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were Royalist, the city was strongly Parliamentary.²⁸

On September 21, Sir John Berkeley, the newly appointed Governor of Exeter, was made a freeman of the city, and on October 2 the same honour was conferred upon Sir Richard Vyvyan.²⁹ From this date onwards to the fall of Exeter to the Parliament on April 9, 1646,³⁰ Sir Richard Vyvyan held the Royalist mint in Exeter, and apparently coined no more money in Truro.

Technically, the Royalist Mint at Exeter dates from the well-known commission of Charles I of January 3, 1643-4, to Sir Richard Vyvyan empowering him to erect it; actually the commission does not originate a Royalist mint in the West, but rather recognizes its existence and defines it more precisely.

The actual commission under the Great Seal to Sir Richard Vyvyan is preserved at Trelowarren among the Vyvyan manuscripts, and is in good condition, with the seal intact.³¹ In it the King empowers him "to erect and set up, or cause to be erected and set up,

²⁷ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, edited by W. Dunn Macray, Oxford, 1888, vol. iii, p. 163 (Book VII. 198).

²⁸ Exeter City MSS., Siege Accounts Dec. 1642-September 1643.

²⁹ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII, October 2, 1643.

³⁰ The articles of surrender were signed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir John Berkeley on April 9, 1646, and the city entered by the Parliamentary army on April 13.

³¹ Vyvyan MSS. Original commission under the Great Seal from Charles I to Sir Richard Vyvyan, 1643-4, January 3.

one or more mynt or mynts in such place and places within our said Counties of Devon and Cornwall, and cittie of Exon. . . . to make and ingrave or caused to be made and engraven, Irons and Stampes with our Effigies, Inscriptions and Armes according to our present money in our golde of London", and to pay over all money so coined to Sir John Berkeley or his deputy.

From Sir Richard Vyvyan's private papers it is clear that he lost no time after the fall of Exeter in moving up the Royalist mint from Truro to that city, for among his papers are two small account books of the mint dating from September 27, 1643, Exeter.³² These two books are marked A and B: A is a rough account book in Sir Richard Vyvyan's handwriting, in which the receipts of plate are noted and nearly every entry subsequently crossed through, the book being endorsed on the last page "1643. Plate received to the King's use at Exon.", while B is the formal receipt book, the entries being made by Sir Richard Vyvyan in his own hand, and then signed with the original signature of those who brought in the plate. The first item in Book B is dated September 29, 1643, and is as follows:—

" Reed by mee Sr Richard Vyvyan Knt from Mr Christopher Clarke the Elder, Mayor of the Cittye of Exon, eight hundred ffyfte nine ounces, one halfe ounce, one quarter of an ounce of white Tower toucht plate, and twentye three ounces and one halfe ounce of untoucht plate. I say reed for his Maties use. delivered in p Bernard Sparke for my mar. Chr. Clarke the elder.	}	toucht
		oz
	}	859 : $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{4}$
		untoucht
		oz
		23 : $\frac{1}{2}$
		883 : $\frac{1}{4}$

³² Vyvyan MSS. Account Books of the Mint at Exeter, 1643.

This form of receipt was followed by Sir Richard Vyvyan throughout the book, the last entry being April 2, 1644; unfortunately no other account books of the mint have survived, but these two prove conclusively that the mint was set up in Exeter immediately after the capture of the city. Corroborative evidence of this fact is also supplied by an original warrant among the Vyvyan MSS., dated Nov. 20, 1643, Chattlewood,³³ in which Prince Maurice informs Sir Richard Vyvyan that Mr. Hugh Hodges, Deputy Treasurer of the Army, had borrowed £1,450 "of several well-affected persons of the City of Exon", and was now called on for repayment, "which cannot conveniently be done but out of the Mint", and therefore the Prince desires Sir Richard "henceforth to yssue out of the Mint, none of the King's monie to anie but to the said Hugh Hodges or his Assignes, until the money borrowed bee made up".

In the Exeter City Act Books, references to the mint are disappointingly few. On January 2, 1643-4,³⁴ it was voted "that this House shall accepte of 200^l money in plate to discharge of soe much of the debt as is due to the Cittie from S^r George Chudley, and others at ye rates it may be putt up againe att ye Mynt now in this Cittie". On July 25, 1644, on the eve of the entry of Charles I into Exeter while on his campaign against the Earl of Essex, the City Council decided that "whereas there is present and urgent occations for the use of monie for the present affaires of this Cittie, and it is conceived that the Cittie plate will hereafter

³³ Vyvyan MSS. Original warrant signed "Maurice", endorsed "S^r Richard Vivian at Exon", Chattlewood, 20 Nov. 1643.

³⁴ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII, Jan. 2, 1643-4.

be of little use, it is therefore this day agreed and ordered that the citties plate shalbe forthwith solde and disposed of for the best profit".³⁵ No other reference to this decision is to be found in the Act Book, and as Sir Richard Vyvyan's account books for 1644 have not survived, it is impossible to know how much of its plate the city sold to the mint, but fortunately it spared the two famous swords of state given to Exeter by Edward IV and Henry VII, and the beautiful silver chains dating from 1500, still worn by the sergeants-at-mace on ceremonial occasions.

From the Exeter City manuscripts we can learn little about the mint, and any information as to its working has been drawn first from the Vyvyan manuscripts, in particular from the two receipt books above mentioned, and from the large number of papers at Trelowarren relating to the sequestration of Sir Richard Vyvyan's goods and property, and secondly from the similar series of sequestration papers preserved at the Public Record Office among the Domestic State Papers of the Interregnum.

It is clear that Sir Richard Vyvyan remained in Exeter almost continuously from September 4, 1643, to the surrender of the city to Fairfax in April 1646; except that on January 27, 1643-4, he attended the Oxford Parliament,³⁶ and in August 1644 he followed the King in his campaign against Essex in Cornwall and on September 3rd was created a Baronet at Boconnoc, for his services to the Royal cause.³⁷ Then

³⁵ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII, July 25, 1644.

³⁶ Rushworth, John, *Historical Collections*, vol. v, p. 573.

³⁷ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of the King's warrant for making Sir Richard Vyvyan a Baronet. September 3, 1644, Boconnoc.

he returned to Exeter ;³⁸ on July 22, 1645, he stood as surety for "Samuel Cawley, Goldsmith", when the latter was admitted as a freeman of the city, and on April 9, 1646, he was among those comprised in the Articles for the surrender of the city. But while the fact of his residence in Exeter from September 1643 to April 1646 is thus indisputable, it is impossible to state the exact location either of his mint or of his private residence in the city during that period. As Exeter owned a mint from the days of Alfred the Great to those of Edward I,³⁹ the name of the street "Mint Lane" cannot serve as any indication of the location of the Royalist mint in its vicinity, and it is possible, as Mr. Henry Symonds suggested in 1913,⁴⁰ that Sir Richard Vyvyan held his mint in the castle for greater security. On the other hand, there is no indication in the Vyvyan manuscripts that the mint was located in the castle, and it appears to be more probable that it was set up in the house of a certain widow, Hannah Anthony, sister-in-law of Edward Anthony, a well-known Exeter goldsmith. Among the Vyvyan manuscripts is a petition in Sir Richard Vyvyan's handwriting,⁴¹ complaining to the Parliamentary Committee of Complaints that he has been sued since the surrender of Exeter by Hannah Anthony. Hannah

³⁸ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII, July 22, 1645.

³⁹ Report of the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, July, 1878. Mr. H. S. Gill, "On Silver Regal Money coined in Devonshire Mints".

⁴⁰ *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. lxx, Second Series, vol. xx, 1913. Proceedings at the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Exeter, p. 510.

⁴¹ Vyvyan MSS.

Anthony, on the fall of Exeter to the Royalists in September 1643, fled from the city and her house was occupied by Sir John Berkeley's troops. Then relates Sir Richard Vyvyan, "in about the end of December following the said Governor did displace the said officers and soldiers, and put yo^r petitioner into the said house to quarter until y^e surrender of the said Cittie unto y^e Parliament, since w^{ch} the said Hannah Anthony hath arrested yo^r Pet^r for quarterings in her said house and for Iron ware taken away by warrant from y^e said Governor during the seidge, with some other small things mentioned in her declaration and proceeds at Lawe against yo^r pet^r for the same." Hannah Anthony died in 1658 on 3 January in the parish of St. Olave,⁴² and although the situation of her house in 1643 is not known, in 1638-9 she was rated at 4s. 6d. for ship money in that parish and her residence in it was probably continuous.⁴³

⁴² *Deron and Cornwall Record Society*, Part V, 1907. Exeter Cathedral Register, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials.

⁴³ To Mr. H. Lloyd Parry, Town Clerk of Exeter, and to Mr. W. A. Gay, Records Clerk, I am indebted for this and the following information. In the City Monument Room is an Inventory dated 1631 of the goods of John Anthony, mentioning Mrs. Hannah Anthony, and premises in Friernhay, but not giving the exact location of the house. From Samuel Izacke's *Rights and Priviledges of the Freeman of Exeter, with an Account of all Legacies left to the Poor of the said City from 1164 to 1674*, published 1751 (see Carwithen's edition, 1820), it is evident that John Anthony held lands in Swithen Street in the Parish of St. Olave. Further, in the Subsidy Roll of 1641, Mrs. Hannah Anthony (widow) is named apparently in the parish of St. Olave, but, owing to damp, the heading of the roll is difficult to read. Mr. Lloyd Parry also informs me that in the *History of Methodism in Exeter, 1907*, Mr. E. Chick states that "Exeter had such an office (i.e. a mint) granted in the reign of Charles I, but it was situated in St. Mary Arches Street, where the Board School now stands", but he gives no authority for this statement.

Not only are we ignorant of the exact location of the mint, but also of the identity of the engraver employed by it. There is no evidence in Sir Richard Vyvyan's papers of the presence of either Briot or Thomas Rawlins in the city, and it is more probable that Mr. Symonds's suggestion is correct, that Sir Richard employed a local or West Country artist. Exeter had long been famous for its Guild of Goldsmiths, and it is perhaps significant that on July 22, 1645, the Act Book of the City Council records: "This day Samuel Cawley, Goldsmith, is by agreement to be admitted a freeman of the Cittie for the fyne of X^{li} upon the suretieship and desire of Sir Richard Vyvyan."⁴⁴ The Cawley family was an Exeter one, and spelt its name variously as Cauly and Caule; it is possible, therefore, that this Samuel Cawley was the "Samuel Calle", goldsmith, noticed by Prebendary Chanter as having issued a token inscribed "O Samuel Calle, R. Gouldsmith in Exon and Bailiff of Exeter in 1667".⁴⁵ The suggestion of Samuel Calle "or Cawley" as one of the engravers of the mint is purely an hypothesis, which at present there is no means of establishing, and it is quite uncertain whether Sir Richard Vyvyan had any connexion with him earlier than 1645.

In the case of the Clerk of the Mint, we are on surer ground, for Sir Richard Vyvyan states that this office was filled by one *Thomas Hawkes*,⁴⁶ who kept a copy of all receipts for plate delivered to the mint and also

⁴⁴ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII, April 10, 1643, to Oct. 4, 1647.

⁴⁵ Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, 1912. Rev. J. F. Chanter, "The Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild", p. 453.

⁴⁶ Vyvyan MSS.

kept "all the books and papers of accompt". Of these books, unfortunately, only the two receipt books, A and B, now remain, but from them it is evident that those who brought in plate to the mint were of varying types. Some, like Christopher Clarke, Nicholas Brooking, and Robert Walker, were prominent Exeter citizens. Christopher Clarke was Mayor of Exeter in 1642 and led its defence in 1643,⁴⁷ Nicholas Brooking became Sheriff in 1648 and Mayor in 1655, while Robert Walker was Member of Parliament for Exeter in 1642, and had been its Sheriff in 1630,⁴⁸ and all three were definitely Parliamentarians and contributed their plate to the mint as those defeated to their conquerors. Secondly, plate was also brought in by, or exacted from, Exeter goldsmiths, chief of whom were Edward Anthony, Ralph Herman, and William Bartlett, all three noted craftsmen and mentioned by Prebendary Chanter in his list of Exeter goldsmiths. Lastly, plate was brought into the mint by local Cavaliers, like Peter Sainthill of Bradninch and Robert Duke of Otterton, but whatever the type of contributor, he apparently was paid for his plate by the Master of the Mint, though not always in full, at the settled rate of 4s. 10d. for gilt "touched", or tested plate, 4s. 2d. for gilt "untouched", 4s. 8d. for white-"touched" plate, and 4s. 0d. for white "untouched".⁴⁹

Finally, the plate was converted into coin, and this was paid out to Sir John Berkeley, the Governor of Exeter, or to Mr. Hugh Hodges, the Deputy Treasurer

⁴⁷ Exeter City MSS., Act Book No. VII.

⁴⁸ Oliver, Rev. George, *History of Exeter*, 1861.

⁴⁹ Vyvyan MSS. Table of "plate recd to coyn for his Ma^{ties} use", Account Book B.

of the Royalist Army in Exeter.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the complete accounts of the mint are missing, but in Book B Sir Richard Vyvyan notes that between October 20, 1643, and April 2, 1644, he received plate to the value of £1,530 18s. 10d. and coined and paid out to the army money to the amount of £1,460. That so few documents of the mint have survived is due firstly to the death of Thomas Hawkes before May 1646, when some books in his keeping were lost, and secondly to the rifling of Sir Richard Vyvyan's house some few weeks before the fall of Exeter on April 13, 1646, at the orders of Sir John Berkeley. Of this quarrel between the Governor of Exeter and the Master of the Mint neither the memoirs of Sir John Berkeley nor the Clarendon manuscripts reveal anything, and our knowledge of the episode is derived mainly from Sir Richard Vyvyan himself, who, in compounding for his estate with the Parliament after the fall of Exeter, states in his petition to the "Committee for Compositions at Goldsmiths Hall" that he was in Exeter while it was a Royal garrison, and that "hee was there imprisoned by the Governor, and soe continued until the said citie was surrendered upon Articles, the cause whereof appeares by the General Sir Thomas ffairfax letter".⁵¹ On turning to this letter, dated April 17, 1646,⁵² we find Fairfax informing

⁵⁰ Vyvyan MSS. Warrant from Prince Maurice, Chattlewood, Nov. 20, 1643, to Sir Richard Vyvyan, ordering him "to issue money out of the Mint only to Mr. Hodges or his Assignes".

⁵¹ *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 188, p. 789, "The Humble Petition of Sir Richard Vyvyan to the Hon^{ble} Committee for Compositions sitting at Goldsmiths Hall", June 30, 1646.

⁵² *Ibid.*, G. 188, p. 796, April 17, 1646, Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

the Speaker of the House of Commons that Sir Richard Vyvyan was in the city of Exeter at the time of the surrender, and that he is to have the benefit of the Articles of surrender, adding that Sir Richard "was for some weekes before a prisoner" (under much oppression) and "principally for his and his Ladyes but speakinge civilly of y^e Armie; he had taken from him heere to the vallue of one thousand pounds by Sir John Berkeley during his imprisonment", and the General concluded, "I conceive him a fitt object for the Parliaments more pticular favour".

Quarrels and mutual jealousies were the curse of the Royalist party in 1646, and a potent factor in its downfall, so that an episode like Sir Richard Vyvyan's imprisonment is not surprising, but without more information it is impossible to apportion the blame, and it is evident from the appointment of Sir Richard Vyvyan in July 1660 to be Governor of St. Mawes⁵³ and Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber⁵⁴ that there was never any question of his loyalty to that cause, in which his private accounts show that he expended the sum of £9,982,⁵⁵ for he was not only Master of the Mint at Exeter but Captain of the Dennis Fort on the Helford River.

Exeter surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax on April 13, 1646, but although the Treaty with Sir John Berkeley of April 9 was long and detailed it contains

⁵³ Vyvyan MSS., July 13, 1660. Original commission from Charles II appointing Sir Richard Vyvyan Governor of the Castle of St. Mawes.

⁵⁴ Vyvyan MSS., July 21, 1660. Certificate of Sir Richard Vyvyan's admission as Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber in Extraordinary.

⁵⁵ Vyvyan MSS.

no mention of the mint.⁵⁶ From Sir Richard Vyvyan's sequestration papers, we find that he took the National Covenant on July 25, 1646, and the Negative Oath on August 1, 1646; ⁵⁷ on June 20, 1646, he begged to compound under the Articles of Exeter for his delinquency and on October 8, 1646, was fined £600 at the rate of one-tenth of the value of his estate.⁵⁸ It is evident, therefore, that Sir Richard Vyvyan made his peace with the Parliament as soon as possible after the fall of Exeter, and from his private papers it is clear that he never went to Jersey to join the Royalist party in its exile. His services, however, as Master of the Mint had been so conspicuous that they drew down upon him the hostility of local Parliamentarians both in Cornwall and in Exeter, and involved him in prolonged and costly litigation. On March 31, 1646, the local Committee for sequestration in Cornwall issued warrants for the sequestration of Sir Richard Vyvyan's estate; ⁵⁹ on May 1, 1646, in spite of a protest from Lady Vyvyan to the Committee that her husband was comprised within the Articles of Exeter,⁶⁰ the warrant was confirmed, and on June 3, in pursuance of this order, the local agents visited Trelowarren, seized his stock, his arms, and some of his household goods and farm implements, and, after appraising the whole at

⁵⁶ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. vi, pp. 263-5, 1722.

⁵⁷ *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 188, p. 778.

⁵⁸ *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660*, Part II, p. 1190, London 1890.

⁵⁹ Vyvyan MSS. MS. "touching Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren in the County of Cornwall", undated, but endorsed by Sir Richard Vyvyan "The manne^r of S^r Richard Vyvyan his usage by the Committee of Cornwall".

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

less than a third of the rightful value, put it up for sale and refused to allow its owner to repurchase it.⁶¹ On July 1, 1646, the local Parliamentary Committee in Cornwall assessed Sir Richard Vyvyan for his delinquency at £216 for the 5th and 20th part of his estate, and on August 6 they sold his growing corn at Trelowarren while it was yet awaiting harvest. Meanwhile, in Exeter the local Parliamentary Committee during the same period, though it is not clear on exactly which date, seized "certain Iron ware" left by Sir Richard Vyvyan in his house in the city. These goods, estimated by their owner at £15 in value, were the tools of the mint,⁶² and comprise the following items in his list: ⁽⁶³⁾

- "Twenty foure Glasse Bottles.
- Eleaven Rests ? of Potts.
- One Iron Seall ?
- Five Iron Potts greate and small.
- One double Ingott.
- Foure old Irons.
- Two bolts, one Iron handed sticke.
- Three chizells.
- One Copper Plate.
- Two Copper Dishes and Two Copper Pannes.
- One Iron Plate.
- Six Iron Rings.
- Five small Anvills.
- One Box of small Punchions and Toolles.

⁶¹ Vyvyan MSS., June 3, 1646, "A Note of such things as we by authority of the Committee carried away of Sir Rich. Vyvyan's goods, signed W^m Rownsevall agent". See also Vyvyan MSS., June 3, 1646. Letter from "Jo. Tubb", steward of Trelowarren, to Sir Richard Vyvyan informing him of the above events.

⁶² *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 188, p. 789. A true and full particular of the estate real and personal of Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, G. 127. A particular of Sir Richard Vyvyan his goods seized on in Exeter by the Committee there, May 20, 1647.

One paire of Brandirons.
 One payre of Tongs and two hammers.
 Two payre of Tonges.
 Eight hammers more.
 Three under sledge stamps.
 Six peare of sheares, four greate and two small.
 Three rings to make Teasts?
 Six upper and four under Stamps not cutt.
 Twenty three under Stamps.
 Twenty three upper Stamps.

The list concludes with a statement that "Sir Richard Vyvyan maketh oath that the goods expressed in the above particular . . . were bought and paid for either by him the deponent himselfe, or by his order or direction", a note which clearly shows that the tools for the mint at Exeter were not supplied to him from the Royalist mint at Oxford or at Bristol but provided by himself locally.

These seizures of his property were not the only violation of the Articles of Exeter suffered by Sir Richard Vyvyan: as we have already noted, he was promptly sued by Hannah Anthony for unlawfully occupying her house from 1643 to 1646 in her absence from the city,⁶⁴ and by her brother-in-law, Edward Anthony the goldsmith, for £84 5s. 5d., which the latter claimed as the value of plate taken from him for the service of the mint.⁶⁵ This suit involved Sir Richard Vyvyan in peculiar difficulties; when his house was searched by Sir John Berkeley's orders in the spring of 1646, books and papers relating to the mint were removed and never restored; further, his clerk Thomas Hawkes was dead, and some of the other workers

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Vyvyan MSS., "Breviate Inter Sir Richard Vyvyan and Edward Anthonie goldsmith".

at the mint were "beyond the seas or dispersed into remote places within the realm unknown to yo^r Orator", says Sir Richard in his petition.⁶⁶ Nor was Anthony's the only suit arising out of the mint; others, similar in character, were brought against Sir Richard Vyvyan by Lord Robartes of Lanhydrock, Cornwall, and Christopher Savory of Shilston, Devon.⁶⁷ All three plaintiffs carried their cases to law, and won their suits; Lord Robartes secured £300 damages, Christopher Savory £100, and Edward Anthony £291 3s.

Faced by suits so numerous and so costly, Sir Richard Vyvyan proved himself as resolute in litigation as he had been courageous in war. At the Assizes held at Exeter, April 3, 1647, when the suit of Anthony *v.* Vyvyan was tried,⁶⁸ Sir Richard Vyvyan's case was presented by two counsel, Mr. Maynard and Mr. Long of Lincoln's Inn, and ably contested before Mr. Justice Rolle, who not only summed up fairly in his direction to the jury, but also expressed his surprise when that body returned a verdict of £291 3s. damages and 40s. costs when the total amount claimed by the petitioner was only £84 5s. 5d.

Feeling in Exeter against the Royalists was strong; moreover, Edward Anthony was not only a notable goldsmith, but he had acted as Treasurer for the city during the year 1642-3,⁶⁹ and had received the plate

⁶⁶ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of "Petition of Sir Richard Vyvyan to the Commissioners for the Great Seal". May 1647.

⁶⁷ Vyvyan MSS., Feb. 7, 1647-8. Copy. "Att the Committee of Officers for Dispatches. The severall peticons of Sir Richard Vyvyan fully heard and fully proved."

⁶⁸ Vyvyan MSS., April 3, 1647. Thomas Shapcot, Exeter, to Sir Richard Vyvyan, giving an account of the Assizes.

⁶⁹ Exeter City MSS., I. 391. "A Booke of accounts of the payment of Captain Thomas Ford's Company", 1643.

and money brought in for the service of the Parliament and the defence of the city. In his suit of "trover and conversion" against Sir Richard,⁷⁰ he charged him with having received from himself 5,400 ounces of plate, and omitted to distinguish between plate forcibly brought into the mint by the warrants of Sir John Berkeley the Governor and plate contributed to the mint of its owners' own accord.⁷¹ Further, Anthony failed to admit at the trial that, out of 1,706 ounces of plate delivered to the mint on October 14, 1643, 726 ounces were by Sir John Berkeley's orders restored to him on October 30, 1643,⁷² while his estimate of the balance of £84 5s. 5d. still owing to him was based on the calculation that 5s. per ounce should be paid for white "touched" plate, whereas in 1643 he had accepted from the mint its rate of pay of 4s. 8d. per ounce for plate of that quality.⁷³ Again, he denied at the trial that he had received any payment for his plate, although Sir Richard Vyvyan in his defence stated that of the £565 4s. 6d. at which his plate was valued, £562 11s. 11d. had been paid, and although of this total £244 13s. and £93 6s. 8d. had been assigned to the king's use,⁷⁴ the first sum was thus allotted by Sir John Berkeley's order when he restored the rest of his plate to Anthony, and the

⁷⁰ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of Edward Anthony's answer to the Bill of complaint of Sir Richard Vyvyan, endorsed June 1647.

⁷¹ Vyvyan MSS., April 3, 1647. Thomas Shapcott to Sir Richard Vyvyan, giving an account of the trial at Exeter Assizes.

⁷² Vyvyan MSS. Breviate of case of Sir Richard Vyvyan v. Edward Anthony.

⁷³ Vyvyan MSS. Memorandum by Sir Richard Vyvyan on a copy of Anthony's account, presented to Sir Richard Vyvyan after the fall of Exeter, April 13, 1646.

⁷⁴ Vyvyan MSS., Book B.

second represented a debt due to Mr. John Bampffield from the goldsmith, and for its transference to the royal exchequer Sir Richard Vyvyan had Anthony's own signed consent and the order of Hugh Hodges, Deputy Treasurer of the Army. The truth of Sir Richard's statements is corroborated by the original receipts at Trelowarren,⁷⁵ and in so far as they survive, they tally exactly with the statements in his defence. Unfortunately, however, political feeling and the want of an intelligent jury resulted in a verdict for Anthony and the heavy damages of £291 3s. against Sir Richard, who now saw clearly that his only hope of restitution lay in an appeal to the central Parliamentary authority and to Chancery. As early as April 17, 1646, Sir Thomas Fairfax had testified to the Speaker of the House of Commons that Sir Richard Vyvyan was comprised within the Articles of Exeter,⁷⁶ and this opinion was upheld by the Parliamentary Committee of Complaints on September 22, 1646, to whom Sir Richard referred his case, after the seizure of his goods in Cornwall and Exeter by the orders of the local Parliamentary Committees.⁷⁷ The result of this decision was that the Committee of Compounding

⁷⁵ Vyvyan MSS., Book B, p. 4: "You are also to except out of Mr. Anthonyes plate the summe of fflowescore and thirteene pounds six shillings and eight pence wch you are to issue out for His Ma^{ties} service in part yr Money lent to his Ma^{ties} by John Bampfled Esq. Mr. Anthony being soe much indebted to the sd Mr. Bampfled. I consent to this. 4 November, 1643.

(signed) Edward Anthony. (signed) Hugh Hodges."

⁷⁶ *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 188 (796), April 17, 1646. Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

⁷⁷ Vyvyan MSS., September 20, 1646. Copy of report of the proceedings of the Committee of Complaints.

at Goldsmiths' Hall on October 8, 1646,⁷⁸ informed the Committee of Cornwall and the Committee in Exeter, that Sir Richard Vyvyan had compounded for his estate at £600, and his personal goods and stock were to be restored to him speedily. To this demand the Committee in Exeter returned the following reply: "Wee have not seised any Iron wares or goods properly belonging unto Sir Richard Vyvyan, tis true that wee have secured for the States use, the Mint made use of by the enemie for coynage during their possessing this Cittie, as we conceive was noe more than our duetie, which wee looke not upon under the notion of Sir Richard Vyvyan his goods although he were Mint Master, nor to belong unto any particular person, . . . being of such publike concernment to the State."⁷⁹ In this refusal the Exeter Parliamentary Committee persisted and in spite of subsequent orders for the restitution of the mint tools, dated November 8, 1647,⁸⁰ and May 11, 1649,⁸¹ it was not until March 7,⁸² 1650, that Sir Richard Vyvyan obtained an order empowering him to seize the goods if their restoration were any longer delayed.

By April 3, 1648, thanks to a forcible letter on his behalf from Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Speaker of the House of Commons on March 13, 1648, protesting

⁷⁸ Vyvyan MSS. Copies of letters of the Committee of Compounding of Oct. 8, 1646, (a) to the Committee in Cornwall, (b) to the Committee in Exeter.

⁷⁹ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of the letter from the Committee in Exeter to the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, Nov. 21, 1646.

⁸⁰ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of order of the Committee of Compounding, Nov. 8, 1647, to the Committee of sequestration in Exeter.

⁸¹ *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 188 (784), May 11, 1649.

⁸² *Ibid.*, G. 188 (791), March 7, 1649-50.

against the violation of the Articles of the Treaty of Exeter, an order was made in Parliament that as Sir Richard Vyvyan was comprised within the Articles of Exeter, the second half of his fine for his composition of £600 should be remitted in compensation for the seizure of his stock and goods.⁸³

In his lawsuits Sir Richard Vyvyan experienced even more difficulty than in relation to the sequestration of his estate and goods. After the unfavourable decision of the jury at Exeter in April 1647, he decided to lodge a "Bill of Complaint" in Chancery against Edward Anthony, and also to petition the "Commissioners of the Great Seal" for redress, as his commission as Master of the Mint had been issued under that authority. He found it very difficult to prove his case, as it was not until the spring of 1649 that the account books of the mint, taken from him by Sir John Berkeley's orders, were restored to him. He therefore decided not to await the "doubtful issue" of the law, but to appeal direct to Sir Thomas Fairfax,⁸⁴ on whose generosity and fair-mindedness he had learnt to rely, on the ground that the verdict against him in the suit Anthony *v.* Vyvyan was a violation of the Articles of Exeter. The General referred the case to a committee of his officers, and these on February 7, 1647-8, recommended that both Edward Anthony and Christopher Savory of Shilston should be required to release Sir Richard Vyvyan from the verdict which they had

⁸³ *Public Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Interregnum*, G. 1. Parliamentary Orders and Resolutions, April 3, 1648. Copy at Trelowarren among Vyvyan MSS.

⁸⁴ Vyvyan MSS., Jan. 1647-8. "A coppie of Sir Richard Vyvyan his petition to His Excellencie Sir Thomas Fairfax."

obtained against him.⁸⁵ On February 16, 1648, Commissary Henry Ireton suggested to John Rushworth that he conceived it "fit and just" that the Judge Advocate should be ordered to "require right to Sir Richard Vyvian from the partye that prosecute him",⁸⁶ and Rushworth, accepting the suggestion, wrote to Judge Advocate Whalley to that effect.⁸⁷ On February 19, 1647-8, Whalley gave his judgment in Sir Richard Vyvyan's favour, stating that the Committee of Officers had proved the truth of his petition and that they considered him comprised within the Articles of Exeter; therefore he now ordered Edward Anthony to discharge Sir Richard Vyvyan from the consequences of his suit against him, or appear at the head-quarters of the army on March 6 to explain his refusal.⁸⁸

Sir Thomas Fairfax then followed up this order by a letter to the Parliament on Sir Richard Vyvyan's behalf of March 31, 1648,⁸⁹ and by an order of April 18, 1648, to the Commander-in-Chief of the Castle of Exeter requiring him to send for Edward Anthony and Christopher Savory and inform them of the order of the Judge Advocate to release Sir Richard Vyvyan from the verdict against him.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Vyvyan MSS., Feb. 7, 1647-8. "The opinion of the Committee of Officers in Sir Richard Vyvyan's suites at Law comenced against him."

⁸⁶ Vyvyan MSS. Original letter. "Lond. Feb. 16th 1647." H. Ireton to Mr. Rushworth.

⁸⁷ Vyvyan MSS., Feb. 16, 1647. Jo. Rushworth to the Judge Advocate.

⁸⁸ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of the order of Judge Advocate Whalley, Feb. 19, 1647-8.

⁸⁹ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of a letter of Fairfax signed by him, Queen Street, March 31, 1648.

⁹⁰ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax,

To all these orders Anthony presented a deliberate disobedience; on January 22, 1649, he told Charles Taylor, who served him with the order, that "he would not",⁹¹ and the matter was again referred both to the Judge Advocate, who reiterated his previous order to Anthony, and to the Commissioner for Breach of Articles of surrender; on their report in Sir Richard Vyvyan's favour, Fairfax sent on May 5, 1649, a peremptory order to the Commander-in-Chief at Exeter to secure either the compliance of Anthony with the order or to certify his refusal.⁹² In July 1649 Anthony was still obdurate, and as he continued so, the case between him and Sir Richard Vyvyan was submitted in December 1649 to the judgment of Mr. John Sadler, Master in Chancery,⁹³ on the suggestion of the "Commissioners for Relief upon Articles", and, on the latter's opinion being favourable to Sir Richard, Anthony was finally obliged to sign a full release of all judgments and damage pending between him and the former Master of the Mint on July 10, 1650.⁹⁴

The lawsuit between Sir Richard Vyvyan and Edward Anthony has more than a personal interest. It not only illustrates the heavy liabilities incurred by Royalists in the King's cause, but also the essentially just attitude of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Ireton

April 18, 1648, to the Commander-in-Chief of the Castle of Exeter.

⁹¹ Vyvyan MSS. Note by Charles Taylor, Jan. 22, 1649.

⁹² Vyvyan MSS. Copy of letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Commander-in-Chief of the Castle at Exeter, May 5, 1649.

⁹³ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of decision of the Commissioners for Relief upon Articles, Dec. 5, 1649.

⁹⁴ Vyvyan MSS. Copy of the original release made by Edward Anthony to Sir Richard Vyvyan, July 10, 1650.

towards a defeated enemy, for without their help Sir Richard Vyvyan would have been unable to secure redress from the hostile Parliamentary committees in Cornwall and Exeter; as often in this period, feeling was more bitter locally than at the centre. None the less, the action of Judge Advocate Whalley was strongly resented by at least one Parliamentarian, for in a pamphlet dated April 17, 1648, printed anonymously at Exeter,⁹⁵ but ascribed to William Prynne, the author, after relating the course of the lawsuit, and the order of the Judge Advocate on Sir Richard Vyvyan's behalf, breaks out indignantly: "By what Law or Commission can any such order be granted to the Generall or Advocate? O happy Malignants that can find such patronage, O unhappy Parliament friends and sufferers who must bee thus enforced even after Judgment and Verdicts to lose both their costs and damages justly recovered against Cavaliers and Plunderers, and thus tossed up and downe to their utter undoing against the expresse letter of the Covenant and many declarations of both Houses to repair losses and right them out of malignants' estates."

From the Vyvyan manuscripts and the papers at the Public Record Office relating to Sir Richard Vyvyan, it is clear that his services to the Royalist cause ended with the fall of Exeter in April 1646. Apparently, he had no connexion with the attempts made by Colonel Smyth to erect a Royalist mint in Truro and Jersey,⁹⁶

⁹⁵ British Museum, E. 435. 36. "Practical Law controlling and commanding the Common Law." April 17. Printed at Exeter 1648, ascribed to William Prynne.

⁹⁶ See the paper on "A lost coinage in the Channel Islands", by Miss Helen Farquhar, above, pp. 199-212.

and there is no reference in his papers to the Catholic graver Vaughan employed by Colonel Smyth in Jersey. Further, Sir Richard Vyvyan in 1646-7 was in Exeter or London, during the period in which Colonel Smyth was in Jersey, and he never accompanied the Royalist exiles to that island, while the fact that he was unable to recover the tools used by him in the Exeter mint until 1650 shows clearly that he did not supply Colonel Smyth with the dies and stamps for his mint.

The story of the Royalist mints at Truro and Exeter is of distinct interest to the historian of the Civil War in the West, as throwing further light on the financial organization of the Royalist cause in the West. To the numismatist, however, the results of this inquiry into their history are somewhat tantalizing. If the evidence in favour of the existence of the mint at Truro in the winter of 1642 and the spring and summer of 1643 be accepted, then it is possible that in that mint there was coined the half-crown dated 1642, and bearing the mint-mark of the rose on both sides, which has long perplexed the numismatist. The coin is a particularly fine one, representing Charles I with his commander's truncheon aloft in his hand, his hair and scarf waving behind him, riding over a heap of arms and seated upon a spirited horse. The mint-mark on both sides is a rose of the type which marked the Exeter coinage in 1644, and on the reverse is the date 1642 in minute figures upon a scroll forming the foot of the shield. This coin was assigned to Exeter by Ruding and Hawkins on the strength of the mint-mark,⁹⁷ and the discovery of a half-crown dated 1644,

⁹⁷ Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England*, 3rd edition, 1887, pp. 327-8.

with the same mint-mark and the same obverse of the king riding over the arms, was considered by J. B. Bergue in 1849⁹⁸ to justify this ascription, although he noted that the first coin was dated two years earlier than coins certainly known to be of the Exeter mint.

With the evidence of the existence of Sir Richard Vyvyan's mint at Truro in the winter and spring of 1642-3, it now becomes possible to suggest that this "truncheon half-crown" of 1642 should be ascribed to Truro rather than Exeter, while the fact of the repetition of the design of the king riding over arms on a half-crown of Exeter in 1644 is rendered quite explicable, when it is remembered that the same man was Master of the mints in the two cities and in all probability brought up to Exeter in September 1643 both his workmen and his dies and stamps.

The absence of any reference in any Vyvyan manuscripts to the name of the graver employed by Sir Richard Vyvyan becomes the more regrettable if the truncheon half-crown of 1642 be assigned to Truro, for while Truro had been a Stannary town since 1305, unlike Exeter it was not noted for its goldsmiths, and it is possible that Sir Richard Vyvyan, when seeking a graver in the winter of 1642, secured the services of a Royalist goldsmith of Exeter, possibly "Samuel Cawley", to work for him at Truro until the mint could be moved to Exeter on the capture of that city.

But whoever the unknown graver might be, he was a man of superior ability to the designer of the other types of Exeter half-crowns; his figures of the king

⁹⁸ *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XII, 1849-50. J. B. Bergue, "On the Half-Crowns of Charles I of uncertain Mints", pp. 62, 64.

and his horse are more spirited and the whole design is of finer workmanship.

If the absence of any mention in the Vyvyan manuscripts of the engraver of the mint is tantalizing, so too is the incompleteness of the accounts of the mint. The large number of papers still remaining at Trelowarren relating to the sequestration of the estate, the lawsuits of Anthony and the defence of the Dennis Fort, together with Sir Richard Vyvyan's own complaints of the loss of his mint accounts, render it almost certain that originally a complete series of receipt books and accounts existed for the mint, for its master was a man of careful mind and scrupulous method.

Enough remains, however, to show that Sir Richard Vyvyan, in spite of the absence of any preliminary technical training in coinage, successfully established and administered the Royalist mints of Truro and Exeter, and the accompanying Plates of illustrations will show that the coins struck under his direction can compare favourably, for vigour of design and neatness of workmanship, with those of similar 'war time' coinages of Charles I.

Finally, my thanks are due to Colonel Sir Courtenay Vyvyan, Bart., C.B., C.M.G., for giving me access to the Vyvyan manuscripts, to the late Mr. Evelyn Rashleigh, Esq. of Stoketon, Saltash, for similar help with the Rashleigh manuscripts, and to Miss Helen Farquhar for procuring me a cast of her specimen of a gold unite of Exeter and for helpful information on the subject of the Jersey mint.

I am also indebted to the Keeper of the Coin Department at the British Museum, who kindly supplied me with casts of Exeter coins in that collection, to the Keeper of the Coin Department at the Ashmolean

Museum, Oxford, for similar assistance, to the Curator of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, for the loan of four specimens in that collection, to Mr. T. R. Gambier-Parry, of Bodley's Library, Oxford, for helpful suggestions and for the loan for purposes of reproduction of his specimen of an Exeter crown of 1644, and to Mr. H. Lloyd Parry, Town Clerk of Exeter, and Mr. W. A. Gay, Records Clerk, for kindly supplying me with additional information about the family of Anthony.

MARY COATE.

NOTE.

Since the reading of the above paper to the Numismatic Society on 15 November, I have received the following suggestions from Miss Helen Farquhar and Mr. H. Symonds with regard to its contents. Miss Farquhar, in view of the similarity of the design between the Scottish Rebellion Medal of 1639 and the "truncheon" half-crown of the king galloping over arms, suggests that Sir Richard Vyvyan might have supplied his graver at Truro with the medal as a copy, or alternatively that Charles I might have sent him a puncheon by Briot as a model.

Mr. H. Symonds suggests that the graver employed by Sir Richard Vyvyan at Exeter was Edward Anthony, the local goldsmith, and that he was possibly descended from the three generations bearing that name who were gravers at the Tower from 1552-1618, of whom one, Charles Anthony who died in 1615, had a nephew John, and a John Anthony, the father of Edward, died in Exeter in 1631. It is highly probable that Edward Anthony, as Mr. Symonds suggests, inherited the die-engraving talents of his ancestors, but it is more difficult to prove that he was the graver employed in the king's mint at Exeter from 1643-1646. Edward Anthony had acted as Treasurer for the City of Exeter in 1643 in its defence in the cause of the Parliament; if he subsequently acted as graver in the Royalist mint, it is curious that a local jury, Parliamentary in sympathy, should give a verdict in his favour in the suit *Anthony v. Vyvyan*, April 1647, unless his services had been forcibly requisitioned by the Royalists. Secondly, there is no evidence in Sir Richard Vyvyan's accounts of any sums paid to Edward Anthony for services in the mint, but only for plate purchased from him. Thirdly, there is no mention by either Edward Anthony or Sir Richard Vyvyan, in the numerous papers relating to the mint among the Vyvyan manuscripts, of the employment of the goldsmith in its service. On numismatic grounds there is much to support the suggestion put forward by Mr. Symonds, but the historical evidence hardly seems to corroborate it.

My thanks are due to Miss Farquhar and to Mr. Symonds for these suggestions.

M. C.

NOTES DESCRIBING ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. XI. No. 1. *Gold Unite, from the collection of Miss Helen Farquhar. Exeter mint. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. Bust crowned in lace collar, similar in design to shilling. XX to right of head. Rev. Oval garnished shield crowned. CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX. Rev. is similar to Tower half-unite, circa 1644. Legend, CVLTORES. SVI. DEVS. PROTEGIT.*
- No. 2. *Silver Crown, British Museum. Exeter. Undated (Hawkins type 1, No. 478). Mint-mark, rose on both sides. King in profile on horseback to left, horse is drawn with spirit, tail loose; king holds sword erect, scarf waves loose. Obv. CAROLVS: D: G: MAG: BRIT: FRA: ET: HI: REX. Rev. Large oval garnished shield; CHRISTO: AVSPICE: REGNO.*
- No. 3. *Silver Crown, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. Exeter. Undated (Hawkins type 2). Mint-mark, rose on both sides with pellet on either side on rev.; on one side on obv. king is depicted in same way as in No. 2. but leans more forward on his horse, and his sash is tied in a bow behind. Legend as in No. 2 except that it has BRI. instead of BRIT.*
- No. 4. *Silver Crown, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. Exeter. Undated. Same type as No. 3, but less worn. Two pellets on rev. on either side of rose mint-mark. Shield on rev. slightly different.*
- Pl. XII. No. 5. *Silver Crown, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. Exeter. Undated. Same type as No. 2.*
- No. 6. *Silver Crown, from the collection of Mr. T. R. Gambier-Parry, Oxford. Exeter, 1644 (Hawkins type 2). Mint-mark, rose on both sides, one pellet to left of rose on rev., two pellets to right of rose on obv. Same type of shield as No. 3.*
- No. 7. *Silver Crown, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Exeter, 1645. Mint-mark, castle on both sides, with one pellet each side on rev., two pellets on each side on obv. Hawkins type 7. King in profile on horseback, tail loose, scarf waving, sword erect. Legend on obv. CAROLVS: D: G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET: HI: REX:; on rev. CHRISTO: AVSPICE: REGNO.*

- No. 8. *Silver Half-crown, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.* ? Truro, 1642. Mint-mark, rose on both sides with one pellet on either side on *rev.*, no pellets on either side on *obv.* King on spirited horse, tail free, holding his Commander's bâton, galloping over a heap of arms, his hair long and waving and scarf loose. Oval shield of arms on *rev.* garnished with lions' paws at the sides and with the date 1642 in minute figures upon a scroll which forms the foot of the shield. Legend on *obv.* CAROLVS. D.G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX.; on *rev.* CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Known as the "truncheon half-crown".
- Pl. XIII. No. 9. *Silver Half-crown, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides, with no pellets on either side of mint-mark. Same design as in No. 8 of king riding over arms. Legend on *obv.* same as in No. 8, on *rev.* date 1644 at end of legend. Garnishing of shield different. No lions' paws; horse's tail free.
- No. 10. *Silver Half-crown, Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.* Exeter, 1645? Mint-mark, rose on *obv.*, EX on *rev.* No pellets at side of mint-mark on *obv.*, one pellet on each side on *rev.* King on horseback, sword in hand. No arms on ground. Scarf tied in bow behind, horse's tail twisted. Legend on *obv.* CAROLVS D.G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX.; *rev.* CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Shield on *rev.* garnished slightly differently from Nos. 8 or 9.
- No. 11. *Shilling, British Museum.* Exeter. Undated. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. No pellets on either side of mint-mark. Bust of king crowned in lace collar. XII to right of head. Legend, CAROLVS. D.G. MA. BR. FR. ET. HI. REX. *Rev.* Oval garnished shield. Legend, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO.
- No. 12. *Shilling, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. No pellets on either side of mint-mark. Same design of king in lace collar as in No. 11 and same legend; garnishing of shield slightly different.
- No. 13. *Sixpence, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. Same type as shilling. No pellets on *obv.* by mint-mark. Two pellets on either side of mint-mark on *rev.* Small VI behind head. *Rev.* Circular shield, garnished, date divided by mint-mark.

- No. 14. *Groat, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. Same type as sixpence. No pellets on *obv.* Two pellets on *rev.* to right of mint-mark. Small IIII behind head. Date 1644 on *obv.* in small figures before legend.
- No. 15. *Threepence, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. No pellets on either side of mint-mark. Bust of king crowned in lace falling collar. III to right of head. Legend, CAROLVS. D.G. MA. BR. F.E.H. RE. *Rev.* Square-topped shield with 1644 above over cross fleurée. Legend, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Hawkins 541.
- No. 16. *Half-groat, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. No pellets on either side of mint-mark. Bust of king in falling lace collar as in No. 15. II to right of head. Legend on *obv.* CAROLVS. D.G.M.B.F. ET. HI. REX. Legend on *rev.* THRO. IVSTI. FIRMAT. 1644 at end of legend. Large double rose instead of shield on *rev.*
- No. 17. *Penny, British Museum.* Exeter, 1644. Mint-mark, rose on both sides. One pellet to left of mint-mark on both sides. King's bust as in Nos. 15 and 16. I to right of head. Legend on *obv.* CAROLVS. D.G.M.B.F.E. H.R. *Obv.* legend, THRO. IVS. FIRMAT. 1644 at end of legend. Large double rose instead of shield on *rev.*

Pl. XIV. Apostle Spoon by Edward Anthony.

IX.

SASSANIAN COINS IN THE ERMITAGE.

[PLATES XV-XVI.]

UNTIL the last two decades of the nineteenth century the collection of Sassanian coins in the Ermitage Museum was not large and could hardly be compared with the fine collections of the British Museum, the Asiatic Museum, and the School of Oriental Languages in St. Petersburg, or with the collections of Messrs. Mordtmann, Alishan, and Subhi Bey in Constantinople. In 1888 there was acquired one of the greatest and best private collections of this class of coins that then existed, the collection of Lieut.-Gen. J. de Bartholomaei. This soldier savant, one of the best scholars in this branch of knowledge had collected Sassanian coins during a many years' stay in the Caucasus. The acquisition of that great collection, which consisted of 11 gold coins, 959 silver coins, and 31 copper pieces, at once gave the collection of the Ermitage Museum a prominent position among the collections of Sassanian coins then existing. Four years later was acquired another fine collection, that of General A. V. Komarov, consisting of 261 pieces. Many other fine pieces were acquired during the last twenty years preceding the war, and thanks especially to the great efforts of Mr. A. K. Markov, Keeper of Coins from 1888 till 1920, the Ermitage Museum now can boast of having one of the best collections of Sassanian coins in the world. At present the collection consists of 35 gold coins, 2,438 silver pieces, and 77 copper and potin coins, altogether 2,550 coins.

Mr. Furdoonjee Paruck, who published a large work on Sassanian coins in 1924¹, was not in a position to study this collection and has only republished the plates of Bartholomaei,² which contain reproductions of only 498 pieces. The other 503 coins of the Bartholomaei collection and some 1,500 other coins of the Ermitage collection remained unknown to him. It is very natural that among this great number of coins there are many not described in Mr. Paruck's catalogue. I have selected those pieces which seem to be most noteworthy to give a detailed description of them. As there are too many remarkable coins to be described in one paper, I will here confine myself to the coins of the first kings from Ardashīr to Shapūr II. I hope that I shall have a chance to publish the most interesting coins of the later monarchs another time.

I begin with Ardashīr I, for unfortunately the Ermitage collection possesses no coins of Shapūr, son of Pāpak, of which only three specimens are known, two in the British Museum and one in Mr. Paruck's cabinet in Bombay.

ARDASHĪR I. A.D. 224-241.

There are known five different types of coins:

Of type I (Ardashīr and Pāpak) the Ermitage possesses 2 drachms and 1 hemidrachm.

Of type II (Ardashīr in a high tiara) there are 8 drachms, 1 hemidrachm, 10 large potin pieces, and 16 small copper pieces.

Of type III (mural crown) there are 1 drachm, 1 obol, and 2 large copper coins.

¹ Furdoonjee D. T. Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, Bombay, 1924.


² *Collection de monnaies sassanides de feu le lieutenant-général J. de Bartholomaei*, publiée par B. Dorn. St. Pétersbourg, 1873.

Of type IV (low crown with globe) there are 1 gold coin (see below, No. 1), 21 drachms, 5 hemidrachms, 3 obols, and 4 small copper pieces.

Of type V (Ardashir and Shapur) there are 2 large copper coins.

1. The most remarkable piece is a small gold coin, which by the head-dress and shape of the fire altar can only be attributed to Ardashir I.

Obv. Bust of king to *left*, moustache, long plaited beard, hair in plaits over shoulder and behind head, two ties of diadem floating behind head; king wears a low crown surmounted by globe. Legend indistinct. Border of dots.
Rev. Fire altar without bands, handles upon incense vessels. Border of dots.

Legend: 1.  *nera zy* (?). r. invisible.

N. S. 13 mm. W. 1.20 grammes. ↘

Erm. No. 4. [PL XV.]

If the reversed direction of the king's bust is to be accounted for by an error of the engraver, then the piece suits the fourth type.

2. Drachm of the same monarch, type II.

Obv. Bust of the king to right. The king wears a necklace or gorget,² represented on the coin by two parallel linear strokes, and, on his head, a high tiara adorned with an eagle,⁴ whose head is turned to right, with ear-flaps. Behind two floating ties of the diadem.

On this coin of Ardashir I, as on all the coins of the other kings dealt with in this article, of the king's garment are seen only two strips of stuff adorned with pearls coming down from the shoulders and meeting on the breast.³ The star which sometimes is seen on Ardashir's breast is wanting on this coin.

² See Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 93.

⁴ Cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 71.

³ Evidently the king's dress on the coins is the same as on the

is this same specimen, although the legend is much more clear on the coin than on the reproduction.

3. Hemidrachm of Ardashīr I, type IV.

Obv. King wears a low crown surmounted by a globe as on the coins Paruck Nos. 39, 43, 48. Hair in plaits over the right shoulder and behind the head. Two ties of the diadem floating behind the head. Above them a dot. Two ends of a ribbon between globe and crown.

Legend :

ד. מלכות-סוף מלכות מלכות מלכות
 14 15

by arthstr mlkan mlka aran mnecry mn zdan

First two words corrupt; last three letters of the king's name rather *du* are than *str*.

Rev. Legend :

1. (د) $nra z(y)$ r. $arhštr$

Pierced. Hemidrachm. Al. S. 20.5. W. 2.05. →
Erm. No. 65.

Hemidrachms of this type with distinct legends commencing with *bgy* and not with *mzdysn* are not mentioned in Paruck's book.

4 Copper coin of type IV. Erm. No. 74.

Obs. King wears a low crown surmounted by a globe; his hair is dressed in plaits over his right shoulder and behind his head. Two ties of diadem floating behind head. Above them a dot. Indistinct legend.

Rev. Legend obliterated. [Pl. XV.]

Copper coins of this type are not mentioned in Paruck's book. Mordtmann has described two pieces: *ZDMG.* 34, 13, Nos. 39, 40. The Ermitage possesses

with back to the altar, leaning with the right hand on a spear and holding with the other hand the handle of a sword at his side. Both attendants wear long, closely fitting coats, tied in the middle by girdles, and broad trousers with many folds.⁹

On the upper parts of the arms and on the wrists¹⁰ are seen bracelets or, as J. A. Orbeli conjectures, sewed-on pieces of cloth. Under either elbow turned towards the altar (i.e. the left elbow of the left attendant, the right elbow of the right attendant) are visible the ends of the broad ties of the diadem.¹¹ The sword at the left attendant's side with its point is directed towards the base of the altar, the sword of the right attendant with its point is turned from the altar and is directed towards the edge of the coin. The upper part of the altar consists of three slabs; above it stands a vessel, in shape similar to the slabs, from which the flames issue.

Legend:

1. nera zy

2. shpshry

A dot on either side of altar-shaft.

Drachm. R. S. 24-5. W. 3-95. →
Erm. No. 115, Coll. Komarov.

⁹ Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 63: "langschössiger Oberrock und weite Faltenhosen", Pl. XXIX. These trousers are very distinctly seen on the silver dish, Smirnov, *Vostochnoye serebro*, No. 308.

¹⁰ Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 66, Pl. XXXII.

¹¹ Cf. the coins of Hormizd I (No. 19 and Paruck No. 101), Varahrūn II (Barth. XXXII, 8), Hormizd II and Shapur II (Barth. VI-VII), also Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 63, Pl. XXIX, XXXII, and Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 93, Tafel XI, where these ties of the diadem are seen more distinctly, and Sarre-Herzfeld, l.l. 68: "ein diademartiges breites Band, dessen Enden bis zur Hüfte herabfallen." On the later coins, from Khosrau I, these ties of the diadem stand upright above the shoulders of the attendants. Cf. Barth. XXII sq., and Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 89, Pl. XLII.

Remarkable is the king's title: *mlka ayran* instead of *mlkan mlka ayran*. Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 19, 420, No. 43 with an *mlka* instead of *mlkan mlka*. A dot on either side of altar-shaft is seen on a coin described by Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 17, No. 45.

6. *Obv.* Legend:

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪

is also distinctly seen on five other drachms, three hemidrachms, and one copper coin of Shapur I in the Erm. Coll.¹³

7. *Obv.* Legend :

۴۴۰ و ۴۴۱ در ۲۰-۳۰ ساله و ۴۴۲ و ۴۴۳ در ۴۰-۵۰ ساله
۴۴۴ و ۴۴۵ در ۶۰-۷۰ ساله

мэддэсн бөг шхрөөхөн млка агран мнөцтэрг мн үздэн

On the globe some curved lines and groups of triple dots. An end of ribbon behind globe. Necklace consisting of a single row of pearls.

Rev. Legend :

1. نيرا زي *nira zy* ۲. ش(په)ري *sh(peh)ry*.

Two dots on altar-shaft.

Pierced. Drachm. R. S. 26. W. 4.05. ←
Erm. No. 84.

Besides the two ties of the diadem behind the crown, between the back spike of it and the cluster of curls, on some coins there are seen two ends of a ribbon between the back spike of the crown and the globe.¹⁴ They are clearly seen on the gold coin, on 10 drachms, 1 obol, and 1 large copper coin of Shapūr of the Ermitage collection. They are also present on the coins Barth. II, 1, 2, 7, 9, although they are not clearly visible on the engraving. They are discernible on the coins Paruck, Pl. IV, Nos. 65, 68, 72. There is still another drachm of Shapūr I in the Erm. collection with two dots on the altar-shaft, but with *mlkan mlka* in the legend of *obv.* (Erm., No. 89).

¹³ Cf. also the silver dish with the image of Khusrav II, Smirnov, *Vostochnoye srebro*, No. 59 (Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, 107).

¹⁴ Cf. Sarre und Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 68.

mann, *ZDMG.* 34, 18, No. 54; and *obv.* without *yzdan*: Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 21, No. 72), a dot only to left of the fire (*ZDMG.* 19, 417, No. 2; 34, 19, No. 57), crescent and dot to right of fire (*ZDMG.* 19, 419, No. 32), three dots to left of the fire .. (*ZDMG.* 19, 418, No. 14).

14. *Obv.* Legend:

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝

Rev. Barbarous legends.

As was shown above (No. 5), on most coins of Shapūr I the sword at the right attendant's side with its point is turned from the altar and points towards the edge of the coin. Here it is directed towards the base of the altar, as on most coins of Varahrān I. See Coll. de Barth. III, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10.

Drachm. *R.* S. 27. *W.* 4-15. →
Erm. No. 96, Coll. Barth.


It is very remarkable that the legends on *rev.* are barbarous, whilst on *obv.* all letters are written exceedingly clearly and distinctly. Some analogous instances are given in Paruck's book: No. 126 (Varahrān II): *obv.* legend confused, *rev.* quite clear; No. 255 (Shapūr II): *obv.* barbarous legend, *rev.* quite clear. Also Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 38, No. 129: *obv.* barbarous, *rev.* clearly written. But it is noteworthy that in contrast to these cases, on the above coin the more complicated legend on *obv.* is written irreproachably, and the simple legend on *rev.* is confused. Cf. also Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 19, 428, No. 32; Barth VI, 6. Besides this coin, there are only one drachm and two hemidrachms of Shapūr I in the Ermitage where the point of the right attendant's sword is directed towards the base of the altar. Since these coins are very rare (I have not found that peculiarity on any of Shapūr I's coins which are reproduced in Paruck's book) I give a description of these coins also.

16. *Obv.* Barbarous legend.

A dot on either side of the back spike of the crown. Globe apparently without ornaments. The necklace consists of a single row of pearls.

Rev. As on the preceding coin. Legends obliterated.

Rev. Legend :

l.  *nra zy*. The first two letters above upper end of spear.

r. barbarous.

The point of the right attendant's sword is directed towards the base of the altar.

Hemidrachm. *R.* S. 19. *W.* 1-87. →
Erm. No. 135, Coll. Barth.

It is remarkable that here the legend of *rev.* begins to left of the fire as on the coins of Ardashīr I. In Paruck's book is described a drachm of Shapūr I, where the three first letters of *nra zy* and the three last letters of the king's name stand to left resp. to right of the fire (P. No. 66). The Ermitage possesses a drachm struck with the same dies as the coin reproduced on Plate IV of Paruck's book,¹⁷ and two other varieties of this same type. Cf. also Mordtmann *ZDMG.* 34, 18, No. 50.

HORMIZD I. A.D. 272-273.

The coinage of this king is represented in the Ermitage collection by three silver coins : two drachms and one hemidrachm. One drachm being depicted

¹⁷ Sassanian coins struck from the same dies are very rarely met with. Nevertheless I have found in the Ermitage collection two drachms of Shapūr I, which are struck from the same dies as two coins depicted in Paruck's work, i.e. besides No. 66, P. No. 76 with three dots below the altar on *rev.* On No. 66 Paruck reads the legend to right : *shpuhr*. According to the photograph and to the specimen of the Ermitage I should rather read it *shprphrv* (*sic*). In Mordtmann's works there are given many instances of faults in the writing of this name (*ZDMG.* 19, 417-421; 34, 18-19). On the *obr.* of P. No. 66, as well as on the specimen of this coin preserved in the Erm., there is a dot between the two back spikes of the crown.

Rev. As on No. 19, but king, wearing his peculiar head-dress with globe, to right of the altar, the other personage wearing petticoat, mural crown and globe, to left of the altar.

Legend: l. broken off. r. indistinct.

A small piece broken off. Hemidrachm. *Ar.* S. 20.

W. 1.76. →

Erm. No. 162. [Pl. XV.]

Inedited, for on the only coin of this type described by Paruck, also a hemidrachm, the king stands to l. and the other personage to r. of fire altar.

VARAHRĀN I. A. D. 273-276.

There are 31 pieces of this monarch in the Ermitage collection, all of silver (29 drachms and 2 hemidrachms); the only copper coin (Barth. III, 11) being in poor condition, I doubt whether Bartholomaei's attribution is correct. By the head-dress of the left attendant on *rev.* the coins of Varahrān I may be divided into two main groups: (1) a crown with spikes (from three to five, it is difficult to fix the true number, as they are not distinct) and globe—of this variety the Ermitage possesses eight coins; (2) a low crown without spikes, but with globe—twenty-three specimens.

These main groups may be divided into some minor groups, according to the head-dress of the right attendant.

The first group shows three varieties: (a) the right attendant wears a mural crown with three battlements¹⁹ (four specimens); (b) the same crown as on

¹⁹ The distinction between spikes and battlements on the crowns of the attendants is perhaps quite subjective and more based on the knowledge that the three projections visible on the mural crowns on the obverse of the coins of Shapur I and II are not

(a), but with a globe above it (one specimen); (c) a crown with five spikes (two specimens); (d) a crown with four spikes (one specimen).

From the same point of view the second group shows four varieties: (a) mural crown with three battlements (eleven specimens); (b) crown with four spikes (five specimens); (c) crown with five spikes (two specimens); (d) low crown without spikes, but surmounted by a globe (five specimens).

The hair of the left attendant is always divided into plaits. The right attendant has always a round cluster of curls behind his head, with the exception of the five coins where he wears a low crown without spikes (II, d). It is very interesting to observe that these modes of wearing the hair quite correspond to the coiffure of the kings who wore such crowns as are worn by the attendants with that coiffure. Ardashīr I wore a low crown with a globe and dressed his hair in plaits. He is represented in this way on the coins of the second group, to left of the altar. Shapūr I wore a mural crown with three battlements and wore his hair in the form of a round cluster of curls behind his head. Apparently it is he who is depicted to right of the altar on the coin of type I, b. Varahrān I, who wore a crown with five spikes, had his hair dressed in plaits. And just so he is depicted to left of the altar on the coins of group 1. The right attendant is not so easily identified as the left one. Only in two cases,

pointed and that on the crown of Varahrān I there really were spikes, than founded on the appearance of the crowns of the attendants themselves, but I retain it nevertheless, for it seems to me that on most coins where there are crowns with three projections, these projections are not so sharply pointed as the projections on the crowns with four or five spikes.

II *d* and I *b*, one may say with some confidence that Ardashīr I, or Shapūr I, is meant. If in the other cases the right attendant also should be a king, then it is unintelligible why he is represented without the globe.²⁰ If he be a priest, as Paruck (p. 26 and *passim*) thinks,²¹ then I cannot understand why he wears a crown and has his hair dressed in a round cluster of curls behind his head, a coiffure which, according to Sarre, who founds his opinion on the bas-reliefs, was worn only by members of the royal family.²² I do not understand why he wears a diadem then, for the strokes under the elbows of both attendants can be explained only as the broad ties of the diadem, as I have shown before. Cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, 73, 88; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 63. On two drachms of Varahrān I in the Ermitage collection are visible slight traces of two ends of a ribbon behind the king's head on *rev.* Perhaps they might be taken for the ties of the diadem, and then the strokes under the elbows must be taken for the ends of the pelerine (cf. Herzfeld, l. l. 63, pl. XXIX), but one may say that they do not resemble in the least the broad ties of the diadem on the bas-reliefs, whereas the strokes under the elbows of the attendants have very much resemblance to these ties. Therefore the two upper ends of ribbon are surely to be recognized as ends of the

²⁰ Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 60.

²¹ Also Thomas, *Num. Chron.*, 1872, 107, and Markoff, *Catalogue*, 61, No. 22, but not Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, 34, 29, and V. Smith, *Indian Mus. Calcutta*, 221-224.

²² Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 73, 93. If this opinion is right, then the man standing next to the king on the bas-relief of Varahrān II at Shapūr (Sarre-Herzfeld, XLII) must also be a member of the royal family, perhaps the same as is represented on the outermost left on the bas-relief at Nakshi Rostam (l. l., Pl. V, p. 73).

ribbon by which the globe was fastened and not as the ties of the diadem. Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, XXIX, XLIV, p. 92. It is not clear also, if it be a priest, why he is attired as a warrior with spear and sword, and is it probable that the place on some coins occupied by the king, the queen, by an ancestor of the king who was a king himself, and even by a god (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 45, 46), on other coins would be occupied by a priest? On the other hand it can hardly be a god,²³ just as it cannot be the king. It might be the heir-apparent (cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 156, No. 537), but then it is unintelligible why on the coins of Varahrân II he wears a mural crown and not the same head-dress as the king's son on the *obv.*²⁴ I must leave the question undecided, and rest content with once more having put it.

21. *Obv.* Bust of the king to right; plaited beard and hair in plaits over right shoulder and behind head. Two ties of the diadem floating behind head. The king wears a crown with five spikes, surmounted by a globe, which is adorned with pearls placed in groups, three and three in a group, and on which some folds are recognizable.

²³ So far as I know, on all bas-reliefs, where a king and a god are represented together, either both have a globe above their crowns, or the king has a globe and the god a round cluster of curls, the prototype of the globe. Cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l., p. 93, Pl. V, IX, XII, XIII, XLI; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, XXIX, XLIV. Only Mithra has a circle of sun-beams around his head (Herzfeld, l. l. XXIX). But the right attendant has on most coins a distinct mural crown, without globe or globe-shaped curls, upon his head.

²⁴ Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 37, is of opinion that the kind of helmet with the *protomé* of an animal was the attribute of the heir to the crown. But it is to be remembered that the personage on the coins of Ardashîr I, type V, till now unanimously taken for the heir-apparent of Ardashîr I, i. e. Shapûr I, wears a high tiara and not a helmet with an animal's head.

Ear-flaps, necklace. Three plaits of hair behind head, four upon the shoulder; the beard consists of five plaits. The necklace is represented by two rows of dots.²⁵

Legend :

𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎿𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹
𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹

mzdysn bgy thran . a . . . mlka uyran vanyu mncvtry mn yzdan

Rev. As on the coins of Shapur I, see No. 5. The left attendant wears a spiked crown and globe, the right attendant wears a mural crown with three battlements and has his hair dressed in a cluster of curls behind his head. The sword at the side of the right attendant with its point is turned towards the base of the altar. A dot on the upper end of the right attendant's spear and somewhat above the lower end of both spears. Under both elbows turned towards the altar are seen the ties of the diadem. "Frawahr symbol" on altar-shaft.

Legend :

1. . . . 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 *vrh* . . . 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 *ra zy*


With a bit of metal soldered to it, which formerly formed part of a ring for suspension.

Drachm. *R.* S. 26. W. 3.91. →

Erm. No. 166, Coll. Komarov. [Pl. XV.]


As shown above (No. 9), there are not many coins known of this period with the "frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft. The only coin of Varahrān I described by Paruck which has this peculiarity (P. No. 109) shows on *rev.* to left the word *vrā*. Mordtmann has described two coins of Varahrān I with the "frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft: *ZDMG.* 34, 29, No. 80, with


²⁵ There are are but three drachms of Varahrān I in the Ermitage collection on which the king wears such a necklace (Erm. Nos. 166, 177, 184).

and in a second line behind globe apparently  *yztan* (sic).

On the globe curved lines and dots. Five plaits of hair behind head. Six plaits upon shoulder, beard in plaits.


Rev. Legend :

1.  *nerva* (sic).

r. in inverted characters from l. to r.  *nera*

'Frawahr symbol' in altar-shaft. Dot on each of three upper slabs of altar. Sword of right attendant averted from altar. Left attendant with low crown and globe, right attendant with mural crown and cluster of curls behind his head.

Drachm. *R.* S. 26. *W.* 3-87. →
Erm. No. 191.

24. *Obv.* Barbarous legend. Three dots  behind crown, between back spike and ties of diadem. On globe curved lines and groups of triple dots. Four plaits of hair behind head, four plaits upon shoulders, beard in four plaits. Double necklace (see *supra*, No. 21).

Rev. Barbarous legend. A dot on either side of fire. The left attendant wears a crown with spikes and globe; the right one wears mural crown with globe and has a cluster of curls behind his head. The sword at his side is turned away from the altar. A dot on upper end of either spear.

Pierced. Drachm. *R.* S. 25-5. *W.* 3-88. →
Erm. No. 177, Coll. Barth.

It is noteworthy that of the nine pieces of the variety with the sword of the right attendant turned from the altar in the Ermitage collection, this coin is the only one where there is a globe above the right attendant's crown. On the eight other pieces of that variety he wears a mural crown without globe.

in a cluster of curls behind his head. The point of his sword is directed towards the base of the altar.

Drachm. R. S. 26. W. 3.75. →
Erm. No. 173, Coll. Komarov.

I have not found either in Paruck's or in Mordtmann's works any coin with this ornamentation on the altar slabs.

29. *Obv.* As on No. 25, but legend :

فكودندو رود الاسلام

medysn bay erhran m . . .

Rev. Legend:

1. **البراءة** *erhran*. r. from left to right **البراءة** *nira*

Two dots on either side of altar-shaft.

Both attendants wear low crowns with a globe, the points of their swords are directed towards the base of the altar.

Hemidrachm. R. S. 21. W. 2-08. →
Erm. No. 193.

There is only one hemidrachm of this monarch noticed in Paruck's book (Barth. III, 8), and that differs considerably from the coin just described. The two dots on either side of the altar-shaft are seen on two drachms of this king depicted in the Coll. de Barth. III. 9, 10.


VARAHRĀN II. A. D. 276-293.


First type. One bust on the obverse.

The Ermitage possesses ten coins of this type: one gold coin, one tridrachm, seven drachms, and one obol. The *rev.* of all these coins is similar to that of Varahrān I. The sword at the side of the right

a globe, on which some folds are recognizable. Two ties of the diadem are floating behind the crown; two ends of a ribbon are visible behind the globe, between it and the wing of the crown.²⁷ Ear-ring, necklace. The necklace is represented by two linear strokes.²⁸

Rev. Legend:

1.  *vrhran*

r.  *nvrā*

"Frawahr symbol" to left of the fire. The right attendant wears a mural crown without globe.

Drachm. R. S. 25-5. W. 3.91 \

Erm. No. 196.

Paruck describes coins of this type with the "frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft (Barth. IV, 4), with the same symbol to left of fire and the "taurus symbol" to right of fire (P. No. 115), and coins without any symbols. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 34, No. 104, has described a drachm of his own collection with the "frawahr symbol" to left and nothing to right of the fire. This specimen differs from the one just described in lacking some letters in the legends: *obv.* *yz(d)a(n)*, *rev.* *vrhra(n)*.

²⁷ These ends of a ribbon behind the globe are very rarely found on coins of Varahrān II. Among the rest they are seen on the coins Barth. IV, 4 and XXXII, 6.

²⁸ The necklace is distinctly seen only on six coins of that type. On three specimens it is represented by two linear strokes and a row of dots between them, on two coins—by a row of dots. The manner of representing it by two linear strokes without dots is very often found on coins of Varahrān II, type IV. On the bas-relief in Nakshi Rostam (Sarre-Herzfeld, I. I., Pl. V) and Shapūr (I. I., Pl. XLII) Varahrān II has a necklace consisting of a single row of pearls. The personages forming his suite on the former relief have all a gorget similar to that on the bas-relief of Shapūr I (Sarre-Herzfeld, Pl. XI, see *supra*, No. 9) and on the three coins of Varahrān II just mentioned (see Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia*, &c., Pl. 24; Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Pl. 44).

the busts are jugate and both turned to right. To the third type Paruck attributes the coins with two busts facing each other, of which the left one, turned to right, represents the king, the right one, turned to left, represents the son. Mordtmann knows only one specimen of type II, var. I, and here, as he says, the queen has a head-dress with a horse's head. Paruck describes no such coins, and mentions only the specimen described by Mordtmann (*ZDMG.* 19, 424; P. p. 54). Of the third type Paruck knows five specimens on which there is a boar's head upon the son's head-dress (P. Nos. 125-128; Barth. XXXII, 9).

In my opinion it is very difficult to discern with certainty whether the right bust is that of the queen or of the son, for on the coins of Varahrān II with three busts, which alone might give us a sure criterion, the boar's head is sometimes found on the queen's head-dress and sometimes on the son's head-dress, whilst the horse's head, which till now has been found only on one coin besides the one mentioned above,²⁹ also may belong to either personage. The size of the right bust might be a guiding principle to recognize what personage is represented, for if this bust proved to be much smaller than the king's bust, then there could be little doubt that the engraver intended to portray the son and not the queen. But the size of the right bust varies, and therefore we have not this criterion.

We have no accurate information about the life of Varahrān II and his family. Mordtmann in his theory

²⁹ This drachm with a horse's head on both head-dresses (of queen and son) is also described by Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 158, No. 547.

(*ZDMG.* 19, 424) goes upon conjectures, which may as well be right as wrong. We are constrained to class these coins according to types, for we cannot class them on historical principles. The two types with two busts facing each other certainly resemble each other much more than either of them resembles the third type with jugate busts turned to right, and since the question is of types one can only be guided by the resemblance of types, and must join into one group those types which are most similar to each other. I should therefore prefer to put into one group all the coins with two busts facing one another, whether the queen or the son there is portrayed, and then, within these groups, class the coins by the head-dress.

On the *rev.* of types II and III the left attendant wears the winged crown of Varahrān II with a globe, the right attendant wears a mural crown without globe. Under the elbow of either attendant are visible the ends of the ties of the diadem. The altar has the same shape as on the coins of Shapūr I.

In the Ermitage collection there is only one coin with jugate busts of Varahrān II and his queen.³⁰ It is reproduced in the *Coll. de Barth.* XXXII, 7. The third type with two busts facing each other is represented in the collection by three silver drachms and one copper coin. One of these drachms has much resemblance to the coin P. No. 127 (also with two ends of a ribbon behind the globe), and differs considerably from the coin *Barth.* XXXII, 9, not only in there being no "frawahr symbol" to left of the fire, but also in the legends. The specimen *Barth.* XXXII, 9 is not

³⁰ The drachm, Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 34, No. 107, is not in the Ermitage collection.

to right of the fire. Such a coin is depicted on Pl. IV, No. 66 of Paruck; cf. above, No. 18. But it is Varahrān II on whose coins first appear isolated words which have no connexion with the usual legend behind the attendants. Till now only three pieces of his with such isolated words or letters were known: Barth. IV, 4, l. of fire 𐭠𐭣 *m*; Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 158, No. 549, with *h* to r. of fire; Paruck, No. 129, with 𐭠𐭣 *rdy* (Thomas, *Num. Chron.* xv. 182, No. 6 pl.). The next known coin with such isolated letters is of Hormizd II (Barth. VI, No. 9, l. of fire 𐭠𐭣 *b*); then comes a coin of Ardashir II (Barth. VIII, 13), and then coins of Varahrān IV. On the coins of Shapur II such legends appear below the altar's base and on the altar-shaft, both these last methods being in use already under Hormizd II.³¹ The word 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *χcape* is found on an inscription at Persepolis (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 122, 7). It is Pārsīk, the Pahlavī equivalent would be 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *χcab* (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 184, 186), modern Persian خوب = good. F. Rosenberg has drawn my attention to the word 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 , of the same sense, occurring on gems (Horn-Steindorf, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* 27).

Another interesting feature of this coin is the use of the word *erhya* instead of *bgy*. See J. Marquart's interpretation of this ideogram, which is to be read $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣} = \text{𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣} = bagān$ "divine", or *bag* "god", in Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 155; *Paikuli*, 135-136.

³¹ Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 156, No. 538, mentions a drachm of Varahrān I with *h* under the altar, and l. l., p. 35, VIII, 42, some coins of Varahrān II with *rdy* on the altar-shaft.

by Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 158, No. 546, the queen wears a high tiara, probably similar to the one on the coin I am describing, but there the tiara is adorned with pearls placed in four groups, each consisting of three pearls, while on this drachm there is only a border of a single row of pearls on the tiara. Unfortunately Mordtmann gives no reproduction of his coin, and I have no knowledge where the coin itself now is. It is therefore impossible to ascertain whether that tiara agrees with the one worn on the Ermitage coin by the personage to right. In any case it seems to be not very probable that the bust of the queen, in most cases placed abreast with the king's bust, on some coins would be placed facing it.

Prof. J. A. Orbeli has drawn my attention to the bas-relief of Nakshi Rostam, where Varahrân II is represented together with his suite.³² Here the king wears his usual winged crown. The next personage to left of the king, facing him, wears a high tiara, just like the one on the coin just described. Farther on there is another personage with a lion's head upon its head-dress, which, from its small size, must be a boy or a youth,³³ and a third person with two beasts' heads upon its head-dress. From the central position of the personage with the high tiara one might infer that it is the queen,³⁴ though it may be that the five persons

³² See Ker Porter, *Original Drawings in Persia*, 15, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, London, 1821, Pl. 24; also Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Pl. V, pp. 72-73; Kiazah, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Pl. XLIV.

³³ According to Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 172, "the small size of the figure of the heir to the throne signifies youth in general, not any particular age".

³⁴ On the important position occupied by the queen in ancient

represented to left of the king must be understood as standing all, or, at least, four of them, abreast in front of the king, and therefore from the place occupied by each person especially no inferences can be made.

Sarre, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 73, thinks that the person wearing a high tiara on the bas-relief is a man, and conjectures that it is the king's eldest son, Varahrān Sakānshāh. He believes that the two other persons of the bas-relief are: another son of Varahrān II, the same as is depicted on the coins with three busts, and the queen. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, &c.*, 538 says that the third person on the bas-relief, the one with two beasts' heads on the head-dress, "has something the contour of a woman". Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, 131 (quoted by Sarre, l.l. 72), explained these persons as being the king's mother, his son, and his wife.

If Kiash's explanation is right that the personage in the high tiara represents the king's mother,³⁵ then one must remember that one of the royal women on the bas-relief of Nakshi Rajab with the investiture of Ardashīr I, which, according to Sarre, l.l. 96, Pl. XII, probably represents the king's mother, also wears a high tiara not unlike the one worn by the personage on the coin, whilst the other woman, according to Sarre, the queen, wears a head-dress with the head of an animal in which Sarre recognizes a leopard. Thus there would be some conformity between the two representations of a queen and the mother of a king, for in both cases (Nakshi Rustam, bas-relief

Persia cf. Sarre, l.l. 73, note, who quotes Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 680.

³⁵ On the position of the king's mother in ancient Persia cf. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 680.

Varahrân II, Nakshi Rajab, bas-relief of Ardashîr I) the queen wears a head-dress with the head of some beast of prey, whilst the king's mother wears a high tiara. The same would be the case on the coins of Varahrân II. But I must say that I cannot find it very probable that a full-grown king should be represented on coins together with his mother.

As for Sarre's explanation that it is the king's eldest son Varahrân Sakâushâh, it should be noted that the tiara is quite similar to that worn by Shapûr, son of Ardashîr I, on the coins of Ardashîr I with two busts (see above, p. 251). This likeness led Schulman to attribute *Collection White King* 73, No. 798, to Ardashîr I. It is therefore quite probable that the personage on the coin was the heir to the crown. But a difficulty arises in reconciling his appearance on the bas-relief of Nakshi Rostam, next to the king, with the coins of Varahrân II with three busts, of which the small one clearly belongs to the same son who on the bas-relief is represented as a boy, and who from his appearance on coins surely must have been heir to the throne, i.e. Varahrân Sakâushâh (see Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 42). Sarre's conjecture that the boy is another son of Varahrân II, for a short time declared heir-apparent, seems to be a mere makeshift, though I do not know how to interpret it otherwise. In any case the personage next to the king on the bas-relief is the same as the one on the coin just described.

34. *Obv.* Two busts, obliterated.

Rev. Fire altar with two attendants, obliterated.

A. S. 19. W. 2.85. ↓

Erm. No. 237.

Copper coins of this type were hitherto not known.

Fourth type, with three busts on obv.

The Ermitage possesses thirty-one coins of this type. Paruck divides these coins into five groups. As there are two strongly marked groups of coins belonging to that type, the difference between them displaying itself not only on the *obv.* (son offers diadem), but also on the *rev.* (both attendants are turned towards the altar, the right attendant is a woman, the altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon),³⁶ it is better, I think, to follow Mordtmann's classification, who discerns two main classes of coins, and, within these two classes, some subdivisions according to the head-dress of the queen and the son.

There are fourteen coins of Mordtmann's Class I in the Ermitage collection: thirteen drachms and one obol. Eight of these coins belong to type IV *a* of Paruck: queen's head-dress with a boar's head, son's head-dress with an eagle's head; and only two drachms belong to Paruck's No. IV *b*: eagle's head on queen's head-dress, and boar's head on son's head-dress.

Four coins do not agree with any of Paruck's subdivisions: there is a boar's head upon the queen's head-dress, and a lion's head with open jaws upon the son's head-dress. Three of these coins with a lion's head are depicted in the Coll. de Barth. IV, 6-8. The engravings, especially of Nos. 7 and 8,³⁷ are not accurate.

³⁶ The obol of the Berlin Museum, with the same *obv.* and with two male figures averted from the altar on *rev.* (P. No. 146), is quite isolated.

³⁷ The poor condition of the drachm Barth. IV, 8, renders it impossible to identify it with full confidence. A comparison of the engraving with the coin itself shows that both reproductions (*obv.*

That of No. 6 is better. The lower part of what the engraver thought to be the beak of the eagle must be taken for the tip of the tongue, the upper jaw is represented by the small projection which the engraver took for head-feathers; the opening between the two jaws is on the coin itself greater than on the design. Three of these coins are not exceedingly well preserved, so that it would be rather doubtful what head is there intended. But the fourth piece (Barth. No. 8), as well as a coin of the second group of Mordtmann's (see No. 39), renders my interpretation certain. I believe that on some of those coins which are depicted in Paruck's book there is also a lion's head on the son's head-dress, e. g. Nos. 136,³³ 138, 154, just as on the coin edited by Thomas, *Num. Chron.* 1872, 108, No. 27, Pl. IV, 2, who also took it for an eagle's head (cf. also Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 35, No. 110). It is to be observed that on the bas-relief of Nakshi Rustam, mentioned above, the personage, whom Sarre in agreement with Ker Porter and Kiash believes to be the queen, also wears a head-dress with two heads of some beasts of prey: one of these heads is not unlike the lion's head on the coins.

The necklace or gorget of the king on almost all the coins of type IV is represented by two straight strokes. Only on three coins of var. 1 (Erm. Nos. 213, 216, 217) and on one coin of var. 2 (Erm. No. 224) is there a row of dots between these strokes. The queen's necklace is almost always like the king's. Only on Barth. IV, 9

and *rev.*) are faulty. On the *rev.* of the coin itself quite clearly is seen a "frawahr symbol" to left of the fire, which on the design is wanting.

³³ The same specimen is reproduced in Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 72. Sarre also sees an eagle's head on the son's head-dress.

the whole neck of the queen is dotted. The son's necklace is represented by one linear or dotted stroke. Behind the son's head always two ties of the diadem are seen.

By the head-dress of the right attendant on the *rev.* the coins of type IV, 1, may be divided into the same three groups as the coins of type I:

(a) Mural crown with three battlements without globe—three drachms and one obol. On the *obv.* of all these coins there is an eagle's head on the son's head-dress.

(b) Mural crown with three battlements and globe—four drachms. On the *obv.* a lion's head upon the son's head-dress.

(c) Winged crown with globe—five drachms. On two of them there is a boar's head upon the son's head-dress on *obv.*; on the other three an eagle's head.

On one piece the crown of the right attendant is not distinct. Both attendants wear diadems, the ends of the ties being seen under the inner elbow of either attendant. The altar has the same shape as on the coins of Shapur I.

The following three coins are of that type:³⁰

35. *Obv.* Jugate busts of the king and the queen to right. Facing them bust of the son to left. The king has the same appearance as on the coins of type I, the queen wears a head-dress with boar's head, the son wears a head-dress with an eagle's head. On the globe a group


³⁰ None of these three coins shows the ends of a ribbon behind the globe, mentioned above; but they are seen on four other coins of the Erm. coll. with an eagle's head upon the son's head-dress. Two of them are depicted in the Coll. de Barth. IV, 9, 11. On the engraving of No. 9 they are not visible, although they are quite clearly seen on the coin itself.


of three dots r., and some curved lines l. Necklaces indistinct.


Barbarous legend.

Rev. The right attendant wears the winged crown of Varahrān II, surmounted by a globe, the left one wears a mural crown without globe. A dot on each of the three upper slabs of the altar. "Frawahr symbol" to right of the fire.

Legend :

l.  *vrhran*

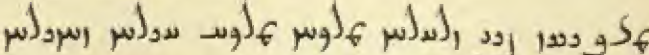
r.  *nera*

Drachm. *Al.* S. 26-5. W. 3-89. 

Erm. No. 215. [Pl. XV.]


The *rev.* legend is inverted as on the coins Markoff, *Catalogue*, 59, No. 19 (Shapūr I), Paruck No. 178 (Hormizd II), and Barth. XXIII, 16 (Khusrau I). See Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 34, No. 103. The dots on the upper slabs of the altar appear here on a coin of that variety of type IV for the first time. Paruck knows only a coin of the other variety (son holds diadem, P. No. 159) with dots. Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 37, No. 121, also above, No. 23.

36. *Obv.* Queen wears head-dress with a boar's head, son wears head-dress with an eagle's head and has two ties of diadem behind. On the globe l. some curved lines, r. three groups of triple dots. Legend begins and ends above son's head :




mzdysn byy vrhran mlkan mlka ayran vanyran

Rev. Legend :

l.  *vrhran*

r. Indistinct.

To left of altar king with winged crown and globe ; right attendant with mural crown without globe.

On the altar-shaft  as on P. No. 129, Thomas, *Num. Chron.* xv, 180 Pl. fig. 6, from which this coin

The left attendant wears winged crown and globe, the right attendant wears mural crown with globe.

Drachm. R. S. 26. W. 4.03. ←

Erm. No. 212, Coll. Komarov. [Pl. XVI.]

In Paruck's catalogue no examples are mentioned of the last word of the legend being placed below the bust. The "taurus symbol" to left of the fire is to be seen on two coins of that type reproduced in Paruck's book, Nos. 142, 143; also Thomas, *Num. Chron.* 1872, p. 108, No. 24, Pl. IV, 2. As for the son's head-dress, cf. above, p. 290.

The second subdivision of type IV, with son presenting a diadem on *obv.* and queen standing to right of the altar on *rev.*, is represented in the Ermitage collection by two gold coins, thirteen drachms, and one obol (Barth. IV, 14).

On one gold coin, ten drachms, and the obol the queen has a head-dress with a boar's head and the son has a head-dress with an eagle's head. On the other gold coin there is an eagle's head upon both head-dresses, and on three drachms there is a boar's head upon the queen's head-dress and a lion's head upon the son's head-dress, but I must say that the lion's head is very distinct only on one specimen.

The two ends of a ribbon behind the globe are visible on one gold coin (Barth. IV, 15) and on five drachms (Barth. IV, 16, 17, and three others). On all these coins there is an eagle's head above the son's head-dress. On the designs of the Coll. de Barth. they are seen only on No. 17.

On the *rev.* the queen wears a head-dress with the head of some bird or beast, but it is difficult to ascertain what bird or beast it is. She wears her hair dressed in plaits behind the head.

Behind the king's back are seen the ties of the diadem. The same are visible on two coins, also behind the queen's neck and back. See Barth. XXXII, 8 (Erm. No. 226) and Erm. No. 223; also Paruck, No. 155 (= Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, pl. A, fig. 20, 4), 157, where the ties behind the queen's back and behind the king's back are represented in a similar manner.¹¹ On most coins instead of this tie there is a ribbon on either side of the queen's waist, which probably also represent the ties of the diadem, though they seem to belong to the girdle.

38. *Obv.* Three busts. Son wears a diadem. Boar's head upon queen's head-dress, eagle's head upon son's head-dress. On the globe some curved lines and groups of triple dots.

Legend confused:


فكروند و در اسلام و اسلام (اد؟) فکروند

medysn bgy vrhra dv mnec[ry] mlkan ayan.

Rev. Fire altar. To left of it the king with winged crown and globe, raising his right arm with finger pointing towards fire; to right the queen offering a chaplet with her right hand and resting her left hand upon the hip. The altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon, which in shape of a curved line is seen at some distance below the three upper slabs of the altar; the ends of this ribbon hang down both sides of the altar-shaft, one end on either side. At the upper end of the hanging-down parts of the ribbon there is a dot on either side of the altar. To left of the fire "frawahr symbol", to right—three dots •••

^a Cf. also the silver dish in Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, 111.

Legend :

l.  *nura zy*

r. Barbarous.

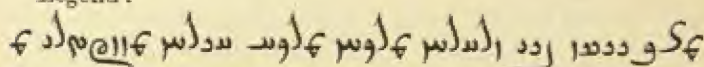
Pierced. Drachm. *Ar.* S. 26. *W.* 3-87. ✓

Erm. No. 228, Coll. Barth. [Pl. XVI.]

The combination "frawahr symbol" to l. of the fire and three dots to r. of the fire is not to be seen on any coin of that variety described by Paruck, who knows only coins with two male figures on *rev.* with that combination (*Barth.* IV, 9, P. No. 126). But we know that such coins exist from the articles of Thomas, *Num. Chron.* 1872, p. 109, Pl. IV, 3, and Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 38, No. 125. On the last-mentioned coin there is still a "frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft, whereas Thomas's coin is remarkable for a dot on the second base slab of the altar.


39. *Obv.* Boar's head on queen head-dress, lion's head on son's head-dress. On the globe curved lines on l., groups of triple dots on r. On the king's neck two ends of the ribbon by which the beard is tied in its middle, as on three coins of Coll. Barth. IV, 6, 7, 8, and P. Nos. 129, 136, 143, 154.⁴²


Legend :



mzdyysn bgy vrhran mlkan mlka ayran mnvctry m

Rev. Legend :

l.  *vrhran*

r.  *nura*

"Frawahr symbol" to left of the fire. The altar-shaft with a ribbon as on No. 38. Cf. P. No. 154.

Drachm. *Ar.* S. 27-5. *W.* 3-98. ✓

Erm. No. 225, Coll. Barth. [Pl. XVI.]

⁴² Cf. also the silver dish with the portrait of Varahrān V (*Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus*, Pl. XXIV; *Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien*, 104; *Smirnov, Vostochnoye serebro*, Nos. 54, 55).

40. *Obv.* Queen's head-dress indistinct, lion's head upon son's head-dress. Above the free space between these two head-dresses a dot. On the globe some curved lines, right part of it indistinct as there is a lump.

Legend barbarous.

Rev. Legend illegible. On the altar-shaft below the ribbon two dots . . . "Frawahr symbol" to l. of fire; "taurus symbol" to r. of fire.

Pierced. Drachm. A. S. 27. W. 3.86. †
Erm. No. 233.

Above, No. 19, I have described a coin of Hormizd I with three dots on the altar-shaft. Paruck, No. 115, describes a gold coin of Varahrân II with three dots on the altar-shaft. In both instances there is no ribbon on the altar-shaft. Three dots on altar-shaft adorned with a ribbon are seen on some coins of Narseh (Barth. V, 14, 15, P. No. 170, 171, also Thomas, *Num. Chron.* 1872, Pl. IV, 10; Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 45, No. 148).

Two dots on the altar-shaft are seen on a coin of Shapur I (see before, No. 7), and on another of Hormizd II (P. No. 175), but there they are placed in a vertical line and not horizontally as here. The dot on the *obv.* is nowhere mentioned. The absence of the word *anyran* in the king's title has already been noticed on a gold coin, P. No. 133, and on some drachms, P. Nos. 134, 136, &c.

VARAHRÂN III. A.D. 293.

The Ermitage possesses three drachms and four small copper coins commonly attributed to Varahrân III. On the *obv.* there is the bust of the king to right with a crown consisting of a double ring set with many leaves in a row close to one another (Nützel, *Amtl. Berichte*, 29, 1908, p. 213), and surmounted by a globe

with some curved lines and groups of triple dots. The point of his beard is drawn through a ring (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 37; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, 69), his hair is dressed in a thick cluster of curls behind the head. Two ties of the diadem are floating behind, above the cluster of curls; two ends of a ribbon are seen behind the globe; the king wears ear-rings and a necklace consisting of a single row of pearls (cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l., Pl. IX).

The *rev.* shows two types. On the first type (P. No. 161-164, Barth. V, 1, 3) the attendants are turned towards the altar and hold something like a stick in the left hand and some small object in the right hand, and have a sword hanging at the side. The left attendant holds the long stick-shaped object before him almost vertically, whilst the same object in the left hand of the right attendant is somewhat inclined towards the altar.

On the other type (Barth. V, 2) the attendants also are turned towards the altar. They hold their sticks in both hands vertically before them and have nothing at their side.

On both types the left attendant wears on his head a crown similar to the one worn by the king on *obv.*, also with a globe. The right attendant wears a mural crown without globe. Both have their hair dressed in a thick cluster of curls behind the head. Under the outer elbow of either attendant are seen the ties of the diadem. On the drachms the altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon, of which also the central part surrounding the altar-shaft is seen, though it is not visible on the engravings of Barth. V, 1, 2. On the copper coins this ribbon is wanting.

Paruck thinks the objects in the left hands of the attendants to be swords, and does not mention either the objects in the right hands or the weapons at their sides. If Paruck's opinion should be right, then the objects hanging at the sides of the attendants must be taken for sheaths, but it is to be observed that in those cases when the attendants hold in both hands an object which in any case is more likely to be a sword than the object in question, which is too short for a sword (as on the coins of Hormizd II and Shapūr II), there are never seen the sheaths at their sides, just as on the sculptures the sheaths are never seen without swords stuck therein.⁴³ Cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 77, 93, Pl. VII, XI; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 66, 68 ("Zweihänderschwert"), 91, Pl. XXXII, XLIV. Besides, it is very improbable that any one should be represented with a drawn sword in his left hand. On the other hand this object in the left hands of the attendants cannot be compared with the long spears on the coins of Shapūr I, Varahrān I and II, as V. Smith thought (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, 222, 223), for it is much too short.

There is no doubt that Mordtmann's interpretation, that the attendants hold in the left hand a sceptre, was more correct⁴⁴ (*ZDMG.* VIII, 43, XXXIV, 42. Also Longpérier, *Essai* 30; Markoff, 65, No. 30).

But on some coins of Narseh with the same reverse type there are seen some small perpendicular strokes crossing the sticks. It might be that these short

⁴³ But compare the silver dish, Smirnov, *Vostochnoye serrebro*, No. 308.

⁴⁴ Cf. the sceptre in the left hand of god Hormizd on the bas-relief at Nakshi Rostam. Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 68, Pl. V.

strokes represent some ornaments of the sceptres, but it is much more likely that they represent bands by which the stick-shaped objects are tied, and thus it is very probable that these objects are bundles of barsom. It is very characteristic that they are held in the left hands of the attendants, for that circumstance agrees very well with the custom of holding the barsom in the left hand. Cf. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, i. 3, 139-140, 386, 414, 422; Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language &c. of the Parsis*, 3rd ed., 1884, p. 398.⁴⁵

On a coin of Hormizd II where the attendants hold a stick-shaped object in both hands before them are visible two dots on this object (Erm. No. 281), on two other coins, one dot in the middle of this object (Erm. No. 287 = Barth. VI, 9⁴⁶; Erm. No. 293). One dot or short stroke on the same place is also discernible on some coins of Shapūr III and Varahrān IV of the same *rev.* type. Thus it is very probable that this object, held in both hands also, is not a sword but a bundle of barsom. On the bas-relief of Tāk-i Bustān (Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XXIX) the god Mithra also holds the barsom in both hands.

⁴⁵ The only objection against that interpretation seems to be that, according to Haug, l. l. 398, the *Aiwyānghanem* (the tie with which the barsom is to be tied together: it is prepared from a leaflet of the date-palm) is passed only round the middle of the barsom and not on two different places as it is represented on the coins. But it is possible that the custom described by Haug applies only to modern times when the barsom itself consists of thin metal wires, and that in bygone days there were periods when twigs of date-palms, pomegranates, or tamarisks (Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 571) being used, the bundle was tied together in more than one place.

⁴⁶ It is not seen on the design, though on the coin itself it is quite distinct at least on the barsom of the right attendant.

Now if the object held in the left hand is a thing used in worship, then the object in the right hand must be of the same character. I have compared all the objects used in worship described and depicted in Darmesteter's *Le Zend Avesta*, Pl. IV, VI, with the representations on the coins and have not come to any decisive conclusion. On one coin of the Ermitage collection it has very much resemblance to the ladle used for strewing incense on the flames (Spiegel, *Érânische Altertumskunde*, iii. 569), for putting the wood in the fire, and for taking off the ashes (Darmesteter, l. l. i, p. lxii, Pl. VI), but on other coins it looks more like the *hâranim*⁴⁷ with its pestle. Professor E. Herzfeld has drawn my attention to the gold plaques of the treasure of the Oxus (O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, Pl. XIII, No. 49, XIV, No. 74, 89-93; cf. also No. 38, Nos. 103 and 188), where the worshippers hold in the left hand a lotus flower, and on the coins of the Cilician satrap Tiribazes (Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, ii. 381, 385, 387, Pl. CVII, Nos. 12, 13, 17, 18, 20), where the god Hormizd similarly holds a lotus flower in his left hand. It is very interesting that on one of these gold plaques the right hand of the worshipper is occupied by a bundle of rods, apparently a barsom

⁴⁷ The *Hâranim* or Homa-mortar is generally shaped like a wine-glass with "foot and stem but much longer" (Haug, l. l. 396). Cf. Darmesteter, l. l. i, p. lxiii. Cf. also Dalton, l. l. 47: "It would be rash to affirm that the vessels held in the hand by several figures have any connexion with the havan used for the sacred haoma." The vessels in the hands of the personages on the gold plaques (Dalton, Pl. XIV, 69, 70) have not the slightest resemblance to wine-glasses. But the fact is very interesting, that here also the worshippers hold a barsom in one hand and some vessel in the other hand.

(Dalton, 95, Pl. XIII, No. 49). The object in the right hand of the attendants may be taken for a lotus flower as was already pointed out by Longpérier, *Essai*, 30, 32, "Un objet en forme de fleur de lotus"), though it is much less distinctly drawn than on the coins of Tiribazes and on many Gupta coins (cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. II, IV, 15, 16, VII-X, XII, XIX, XXI-XXII). It consists either of a vertical stroke with a dot at its upper end or of a short horizontal stroke immediately over the hand and a dot above it, and has some resemblance of the lotus flower on some Gupta coins of a much later period (Allan, l. l., Pl. XXIII, 14, XXIV, 6). I must say that this interpretation of Professor Herzfeld seems to me to be the most probable one.

41. The drachm Barth. V, 2 is of quite a special interest. The drawing in the Coll. de Barth. is not accurate. Unfortunately the coin is not in good condition, but nevertheless all important details of *rev.* are seen on the enlarged photograph below.

Obv. Bust of the king as usual. There are seen slight traces of the ties of the diadem floating behind the head which are wanting on Bartholomaei's engraving. The legend is wholly obliterated.

Rev. The attendants hold their swords or bundles of barsom in both hands upright before them. The ties of the diadem absolutely wanting on the engraving of Barth. are distinctly seen hanging down along the back of either attendant.

The legend on the left can be only read 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮 *nrsh*.

Perhaps there was a *y* also, but it is completely obliterated. The first two letters which Paruck thought to be ties are decidedly letters, for the ties never have such a shape, and besides here they are clearly seen hanging down along the attendants' backs, quite as on the coins of Hormizd II (Barth. VI, 3-6, 9). The third letter is undoubtedly *s*, for the lower small stroke of the left

part of the letter seen on Bartholomaei's drawing belongs to the ties. The right legend is less clear, the two

first letters only being seen. Π or λ

Pierced. Drachm. *Ar.* S. 26. *W.* 3.55. λ
Erm. No. 240, *Coll. Barth.* V, 2.



An examination of the coins of Varahrân III shows that on almost all his coins the legends are so badly executed that the king's name cannot be read with certainty. Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* VIII, 42, No. 42, XII, 7, No. 6, XXXIV, 42, Nos. 135, 136; Barth. V, 3, 4; H. Hoffmann, *Le Numismate*, No. 34, 1865, Pl. I, No. 11; cf. also Nützel, *Amtl. Berichte* 29, 1908, p. 213.

The same is the case on the coin Barth. V, 1, for on the coin itself the name cannot be read *vrhran*, although this reading seems to be certain according to the drawing, on which the legend is reproduced inexactly. On some coins commonly attributed to Varahrân III the king's name can be read, but then it is not *vrhrân* but *nrshy*.

So on the coin reproduced in Longpérier's *Essai*, Pl. V, 1. On the *rev.* to right I see distinctly *nrshy*. The name is here written quite in the same manner as on the drachm of Narseh reproduced on the

same plate, No. 2, and on the coin Barth. V, 2, just described.

On the gold coin edited by Nützel, *Amtl. Berichte*, 1908, p. 213, Herzfeld, as he has told me in a letter, reads *nyrshy* ("ein Mittelding zwischen *nrshy*, der normalen Pārsik Lesung, und *nryshv*, der Pahlavik Lesung"; cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 222), and really the name on the *obv.* of this coin (P. No. 162) cannot be read otherwise.

On the drachm of Paruck's collection (P. No. 164) I read distinctly *nrshy* on *obv.*, although Paruck renders the legend as *vrhran*. The only coin on which the king's name seems to be *vrhran* is the drachm of the British Museum (Thomas, *Num. Chron.* xv, Pl. No. 7, 1872, pp. 111-112, Pl. IV, No. 6, Paruck, No. 163). But here the whole legend is executed very barbarously; the words following the name cannot be read at all, and besides on the coins of Narseh the name is sometimes also written in a very confused manner. Thus the Ermitage possesses a coin (see *infra*, No. 42) of Narseh on which the king's name is written 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩

therefore, that the barbarous die-engraver who was so insufficiently acquainted with the writing that he was unable to write the rest of the legend in an intelligible manner could easily write something like *vrhran* instead of *nrshy*.

It is very interesting to observe that the crown of Narseh has very much resemblance to the crown commonly attributed to Varahrān III. It consists of a double ring set with many leaves standing upright closely to each other (Nützel, *Amtl. Ber.* 29, p. 213). The only difference is that the crown of Narseh is also adorned with three palm-leaves which are wanting on the crown on Varahrān III's coins. Another characteristic of Narseh's portrait is his coiffure: his hair is dressed in plaits and not in a thick cluster of curls. Notwithstanding, Sarre (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 85, Pl. IX) and Herzfeld⁴⁸ (*Am Tor von Asien*, 60, *Paikuli*, 173) have attributed to him the bas-relief of Nakshi Rostam where the king has neither the characteristical branches on his crown nor plaited hair.

On the busts of Narseh on the Paikuli monument the king has plaited hair and a crown with palmettes.⁴⁹

There can be no doubt that on the bas-relief of Nakshi Rostam is represented the same king as struck the coins hitherto attributed to Varahrān III, and if this attribution of the coins be right, then

⁴⁸ As Herzfeld tells me in a letter dated April 16, 1926, he thinks the bas-relief undoubtedly to belong to the same monarch as struck the coins usually attributed to Varahrān III, but he doubts the correctness of this attribution.

⁴⁹ As Prof. Herzfeld tells me in the same letter. Cf. *Paikuli*, 9-10.

the bas-relief also must be attributed to Varahrān III.⁵⁰

On the other hand, we know that Varahrān III 'was compelled by the dignitaries of the empire to accept the crown against his will and that he seriously declined to do so' (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 173, who quotes Mirkhond, *ed. de Sacy*, "Mémoires sur diverses antiquités", 300; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, i. 280); we know that his reign lasted only four months, and that apparently he had continually to struggle against his adversary Narseh. Under such circumstances it is not probable that he had leisure and interest for erecting so noble a monument; it is not probable also that during his short reign he should have troubled to change twice the reverse type of the coins and that his adversary Narseh should have adopted one of these types introduced by him not long before and given up by Narseh's descendant, thus being in use only during the reigns of Varahrān III and Narseh.⁵¹ Herzfeld has pointed out (*Am Tor von Asien*, 62), that Ardashīr II doubtlessly not by accident wore a crown similar to that of his ancestor of the same name. The same is the case with

⁵⁰ Cf. G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, 114; Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, p. 42, but on p. 41 he attributes it to Varahrān II. See Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 85.

⁵¹ Prof. Herzfeld has drawn my attention to the fact that in the inscription of Kartīr Hormizd in Nakshi Rājāb, the date of which must be placed exactly in the period of the war between Varahrān and Narseh, in the summer of 293 (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 92, 154), are mentioned only four deceased kings (Shapūr I, Hormizd I, Varahrān I, Varahrān II), and that this "long inscription does not contain the slightest hint at the ruling king". This fact also speaks in favour of the hypothesis that the bas-relief of Nakshi Rūstān cannot belong to Varahrān. Herzfeld thinks it to be very probable that Varahrān Sakānsbāh never was acknowledged as king in the western part of the kingdom.

Shapūr II's crown, which is very similar to the crown of Shapūr I. If there was such a habit among the Sassanian kings, then it is not probable that Narseh should have chosen a crown so very similar to that of his adversary. It is much more probable that Narseh was the first king who wore a crown consisting of a double ring set with leaves and that the crown of Varahrān III is entirely unknown till now, that the bas-relief of Nakshī Rostam as well as the coins usually attributed to Varahrān III must be attributed to Narseh, and that no coins of Varahrān III have come to light till now.

If this should be accepted, then Narseh during his whole reign wore a crown of one and the same shape, except that it was not always adorned with palm-leaves; just as one and a half centuries later Pīrūz did not always have wings upon his crown. In like manner Narseh changed his coiffure. Each Sassanian king on all his coins is represented with one and the same coiffure. Ardashīr I and Varahrān I have on all their coins plaited hair,⁵² the other kings have on all their coins thick clusters of curls behind the head. Narseh is the only king of whom two different sorts of coiffure already are known. On the coins of type I (Barth. V, 5-13) all the plaits of his hair are seen floating behind the head, on the coins of type II (Barth. V, 14-16) his hair is divided in two parts: some tresses float behind the head, some tresses fall on his right shoulder. It is not improbable that there was a time when he wore his hair dressed in still a third manner, i. e. in a thick cluster of curls.

⁵² Cf. also Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. 68, 215, Pl. V, XLl.

Herzfeld has pointed out that Narseh was a very vain man, who intending to augment his own fame did not hesitate to sign with his own name a monument of an earlier king (*Paikuli* 173). The supposition is therefore not improbable that he paid much attention to his exterior, and this would explain the difference in his coiffure on the portraits on his coins.⁵³


NARSEH. A. D. 293-302.


Besides the three silver drachms and four copper coins which commonly are attributed to Varahrān III and which I think to be coins of Narseh, the Ermitage possesses twenty-four silver coins of this monarch :

⁵³ Narseh is the only king represented on coins with plaited hair and a beard, the point of which is drawn through a ring. The beards of the other two kings who wore plaited hair, Ardashīr I and Varahrān I, on the representations on coins are also plaited. But one must say that on the bas-reliefs this association of plaited hair and beard is not always seen. Thus on the bas-relief at Nakshi Rostam (Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. V) Ardashīr I, and on the bas-relief at Shapūr (l. l. XLI) Varahrān I, has plaited hair but wears his beard drawn through a ring. The inverted order, plaited beard and hair in a cluster of curls behind the head, is not found on representations of kings, but only on representations of high dignitaries; for instance, of the men forming the suite of Shapūr I (l. l., Pl. XI), of the general of Varahrān II (l. l., Pl. XLII, cf. also Pl. V). We find it also on the image of god Hormizd in Jāqibustān (Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XXIX). The kings who are represented on their coins with a cluster of curls behind the head and a beard drawn through a ring, wear on their bas-reliefs the same dress of hair and beard, cf. Shapūr I on Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l. VII, XLV, Varahrān II, l. l. V, XXXII, XLII, Narseh, l. l. IX, Shapūr II—Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XXXII. On the bas-relief of Nakshi Rajab (Sarre-Herzfeld, l. l., Pl. XII) Ardashīr I and god Hormizd have plaited hair and beard. On the busts at Paikuli Narseh has plaited hair, and as for his beard, Herzfeld (*Paikuli*, 8) says, "it seems that the point of the beard, too, was drawn through a ring". Thus on these busts he is represented just in the same manner as on the majority of his coins.

The king's hair is divided into two parts: four tresses are floating behind the head, three tresses falling upon the right shoulder. The globe is adorned with pearls placed in groups, three and three in each group. Some folds are visible on it. The necklace or gorget is represented by two linear strokes.

Rev. Legend:

1.  *nura zy* (barbarously written).

r.  *nrahy* (*sic*).

"Frawahr symbol" to the left of the fire, "taurus symbol" to right of the fire. On the altar-shaft, below the ribbon, three dots *.* There are seen two perpendicular strokes on the barsom in the left hand of either attendant. The small object in the right hand of the right attendant is represented by an almost horizontal stroke, immediately above the hand, and a dot above it.

Pierced. Drachm. *Ar. S.* 27. *W.* 3-96. →
Erm. No. 265. [Pl. XVI.]

There is another specimen in the Ermitage collection struck with the same dies, *S.* 26-5. *W.* 4-88. ←
Erm. No. 264. The perpendicular strokes on the barsam are seen also on the drachm Erm. No. 266, and perhaps on the coin Paruck No. 169.

HORMIZD II. A.D. 302-309.

The coinage of this king is represented by thirty-four coins in the Ermitage Museum. They are all of the first type of Paruck's.⁵⁵

Obv. Bust of the king to right, the point of his beard is drawn through a ring, his hair is dressed in a thick cluster of curls behind the head. He wears ear-rings

⁵⁵ On the other types attributed by Paruck to Hormizd II see Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 46-47.

and a necklace which consists of a single row of pearls. His crown consists of a double ring set with a row of pearls surmounted by an eagle turned to right and dropping a pearl from its beak.⁵⁶ Above it a globe on which some folds are recognizable and which is adorned with pearls placed in groups, three and three in a group. Two ties of the diadem are floating behind the head above the cluster of curls. There are also seen on many of this king's coins two ends of a ribbon between the wings of the eagle and the globe. I have found this peculiarity on eighteen drachms and one obol of the Ermitage collection.

The *rev.* gives two different types. The first type is represented only by one drachm—a unique coin, hitherto inedited, see No. 43. The second type shows three varieties according to the direction in which the god Hormizd,⁵⁷ issuing from the flames, is represented: looking to left, to right, or facing. A cluster of curls is seen on either shoulder of the god, independently of the direction to which his face is turned.⁵⁸ The altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon, as on the coins of Varahrân II, type IV, 2, and Narseh. At the upper end of the hanging parts of this ribbon there is usually a dot, sometimes two dots. In the following descriptions I shall mention this circumstance only when there are two dots. The upper part of the altar consists of three slabs. Unlike the coins of the whole

⁵⁶ The pearl is also present on the drachm Barth. VI, 5; it is only somewhat obliterated. On two other coins there seem to be three pearls (Barth. VI, 9) and two pearls (see *infra*, No. 43).

⁵⁷ "The so-called 'farvar' is, indeed, no 'farvar' at all, but the god Hormizd", Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 47. Cf. Thomas, *Num. Chron.* xv. 187; 1872, 114.

⁵⁸ The same peculiarity is seen on the portraits of Shapūr I and Narseh, on the bas-reliefs at Nakshi Rostam, and on the portrait of Varahrân I in Shapūr. Cf. Sarre-Herzfeld, I. I., Pl. VII, IX, and XLI.

preceding period there is no vessel visible above the altar, the god and the flames issuing directly from the altar. The attendants are turned towards the altar and hold their barsoms or swords in both hands before them. The left attendant usually wears the crown of Hormizd II with a globe (sometimes the crown is indistinct), the right attendant on most coins of variety I (god to left) wears a mural crown with three battlements. Only on seven coins of that variety in the Ermitage collection is there a globe above his crown. On the coins of varieties II and III he has a mural crown with globe. On the two obols there is no globe above his crown; it is therefore probable that they belong to the first variety. The hair of both attendants is dressed in a thick cluster of curls behind their heads. Under the elbow of either attendant are seen the ends of the ties of the diadem.

43. *Obv.* Barbarous legend.

On the globe some curved lines and dots. No ends of a ribbon above the eagle's wing. There is a second dot to right of the usual one which represents the pearl below the eagle's beak.

Rev. Barbarous legend.


The god Hormizd in the fire turned to left, with a cluster of curls on either shoulder. Each attendant holds in his left hand a bundle of barsom and in his right hand an indistinct small object (lotus flower?). The barsom of the right attendant is inclined towards the altar. At either attendant's side is hanging a sword. The left attendant wears a low crown upon which no eagle is discernible, and a globe; the right attendant wears a mural crown without globe. Under the elbows are seen the ties of the diadem. Both attendants are turned towards the altar.

Drachm. *Ar.* S. 26. *W.* 3-88. →
Erm. No. 272. [Pl. XVI.]

48. *Obv.* Barbarous legend.

On the globe some curved lines and groups of triple dots. Two ends of a ribbon between the globe and the wing of the eagle.

Rev. Legend :

l.  *nura y*

r. Barbarous.

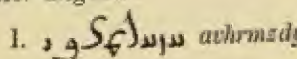
Two dots to left of the fire, nothing to right of fire.
Two dots on either side of the altar-shaft, on a level with the central part of the ribbon. Below each lower end of the ribbon a dot.

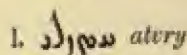
Drachm. R. S. 25-5. W. 3.75. ↑
Erm. No. 283, Coll. Komarov.


49. *Obv.* Legend illegible.

On the globe some curved lines and many groups of of triple dots.

Rev. Legend :


l.  *avhrmazd*


l.  *atvry*

Below altar's base  *ah*

A dot on the second slab of the altar from top. The right attendant wears mural crown and globe.

Drachm. R. S. 29. W. 2.98. →
Erm. No. 290, Coll. Komarov.

On the only coin with a dot on the second slab of the altar, described in Paruck's book (Barth. VI, 2), below the base of the altar stand the letters  *ard*.⁵⁹ Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 84, 49, No. 169, has described another coin with a dot on the second slab and *ar* below the base of the altar.

⁵⁹ The drawing Coll. de Barth. VI, 2, with  *ard*, is not accurate, the first stroke being not a letter but a scratch.

52. *Obv.* Bust of the king to *left*. He wears a crown with an eagle dropping a pearl from its beak and surmounted by a globe. Another pearl (dot) in front of the king's forehead. On the globe some curved lines and dots. Traces of legend.

Rev. Altar adorned with a ribbon. The god Hormizd to right amidst the flames. Seven dots on the altar-shaft below the ribbon: one in the centre and six around it, forming a rosette. To left of the altar the king with his peculiar crown and globe, to right—an attendant with a mural crown. Traces of a legend behind either attendant.

Æ. S. 27. W. 9-34. ←
Erm. No. 302.

SHAPÛR II. A. D. 309-379.

There are 138 coins of this monarch in the Ermitage collection.

Type I, without the god Hormizd in the fire of the altar on *rev.*, is represented by two gold coins, twenty-four drachms, and two small copper pieces.

Obv. Bust of the king to right; the point of his beard is drawn through a ring, his hair is dressed in a thick cluster of curls behind the head. He wears ear-rings and necklace, and, on his head, a mural crown, surmounted by a globe which is adorned with pearls placed in groups, and on which some folds are recognizable. Two ties of the diadem are floating behind the head, above the curls.

The necklace on most coins consists of a single row of pearls;⁶⁰ on one gold coin and four drachms of type I (Erm. No. 307, 330, see *infra*, Nos. 53, 56, Barth. VI, 13, 14, 15) it is represented by two linear strokes

⁶⁰ As on the silver dish, Smirnov, *Vostochnoye serebro*, No. 57.

and a row of dots between them; on one drachm of type I—by two linear strokes (Barth. VI, 16).

The ribbon by which the beard is tied in its middle is seen only on two drachms of type I (Erm. No. 329, 330) and on almost all coins of type II.

Another peculiarity by which the coins of type I may generally be distinguished from the other types is, that on *obv.* the king has only two ties of the diadem floating behind the crown, above the cluster of curls, whereas on the coins of types II and III besides these two ties of the diadem, two ends of a ribbon stand almost upright behind the globe. Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XXXII. These ends of a ribbon are seen on most coins of types II and III on Plates X and XI of Paruck and Barth. VII and VIII. Exceptions are very rare: Barth. VII, 14 and the drachm Erm. No. 337 of type II, and the gold coin Erm. No. 429 of type III, where these ends of ribbon are wanting, and Erm. No. 330 of type I where they are present. Cf. No. 56. I cannot say whether these ends of ribbon are also present on the copper coins, which are not in so good a condition as to assert it with certainty.


On the *rev.* the upper part of the altar consists of three slabs. Upon the altar stands a vessel from which the fire issues. The altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon as on the coins of Hormizd II and still earlier on the coins of Narseh, type II, and type Varahrān III, and on the coins of Varahrān II, type IV, 2.

On most coins of Shapūr II both attendants wear a mural crown with three battlements and a globe, which on the coins of type II is very inaccurately placed. There are some instances where neither


Rev. Legend:


l.  *avhrmsdy* r.  *yvray* (sic)

Above the fire  *mlky*

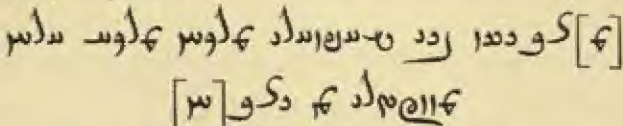
Either attendant wears a mural crown and a globe.
On the altar-shaft below the ribbon "frawahr symbol",
below the altar 

N. S. 21. W. 7-20. ↑
Erm. No. 308. [Pl. XVI.]

The king's name on the *obv.* is not clear. To left of the bust there are three letters: the first of them is *r* or *v*; the second letter is like the first, then follows  *m*, then, in front of the breast an indistinct letter and *chry*. The space below the bust is blank.

On the *rev.* not Shapūr is named, but Hormizd. From the portrait and crown on the *obv.* the coin can only be attributed to Shapūr II. Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 64, No. 257, a coin of Shapūr II with *nvra zy vrhran* on *rev.* The sign  below the altar is also seen on the gold coin P. No. 201.

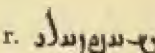
55. *Obv.* Legend:



[*m*]sdyšn bgy šhpvrhy mlkan mlka aran mvvctry mn yzd[an]


Rev. Legend:

l. Broken off.

r.  *šhpvrhy*

Either attendant wears mural crown with globe.
"Frawahr symbol" to left of fire; "taurus symbol" to
right of fire.

Rev. Legend :

1.  *vera*

r. Indistinct

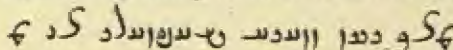
Either attendant wears a mural crown with a globe.
"Frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft below the ribbon.

Drachm. R. S. 23. W. 4-11. →

Erm. No. 317, Coll. Komarov.

The legend is remarkable for its brevity. Cf. Paruck, Nos. 194-207. A similar coin, but with *mlka* and without the dot behind the crown, is described by Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 62, No. 247.

60. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in front of the breast :




mzdysn vhya špchr̥y zy m

On the globe curved lines and groups of triple dots.

Rev. Legend :

1.  *hs*

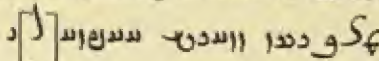
r. . . . 

"Frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft below the ribbon.

Pierced. Drachm. R. S. 25-5. W. 3-23. →

Erm. No. 323.

61. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in front of the breast :



mzdysn vhyš ahpch[r]y

The letters *a* of *vhya* and *š* of *špchr̥y* transposed.
A dot behind the crown. On the globe some groups of triple dots.

Rev. Legends indistinct.

Either attendant with mural crown and globe.
"Taurus symbol" to left of the fire, "frawahr symbol" to right of the fire. A dot above the "taurus symbol".

Drachm. R. S. 26. W. 3-44. →

Erm. No. 305, Coll. Komarov.

The only coin of Shapūr II with the ideogram *vrhya* in Paruck's book (No. 254) is of type III. The shortness of the legend on *obv.* of the coins Nos. 60, 61 is also remarkable. Cf. the coins of type I described by Paruck, Nos. 194-207; Barth. VI, 12-VII, 5.

Type II, variety 1.


Represented by four gold coins, sixty-eight drachms, nine obols, one large and eight small copper pieces. In the fire a bust of god Hormizd turned to right. A cluster of curls behind his head. The upper part of the altar consists of three slabs, of which the uppermost is the broadest. There is no vessel seen above the altar, the god, in the midst of flames, issuing directly from the altar. The altar-shaft is adorned with a ribbon, only the ends of which are visible hanging down at either side of the altar-shaft. At the upper end of either extremity of the ribbon there is a knot, sometimes (on fourteen drachms of the Ermitage collection) expressed by a triangle (cf. Barth. VII, 13, 14, 15, 17), more often by a dot as on the coins of the preceding reigns.

On the *obv.* two ends of a ribbon are seen behind the globe.

62. *Obv.* Barbarous legends.

In front of the bust a star-shaped flower with eight petals, as on the copper coin P. No. 239. On the globe some dots. On the breast and on either shoulder a group of three dots.

Rev. Either attendant with a mural crown without globe.

Legend on the altar-shaft:  (?) *rast*

Between the altar and the attendants: to left \cup , to right ζ h.

N. S. 20. W. 7.09. →
Erm. No. 336. [Pl. XVI.]

There are only three gold coins of this type described in Paruck's book (Nos. 214, 242, Barth. VII, 9), but none has the flower on *obv.* and the crescent and letter on *rev.* The letter alone in inverted direction with the base towards the altar is seen on a gold coin of type III depicted in Longpérier's *Essai*, Pl. VI, 2. Cf. also Barth. VIII, 3, and *ZDMG.* VIII, 51, No. 76.

63. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in front of the breast:

szodyny bgo s

Last two letters doubtful. Behind the head there is no legend. On the globe some curved lines. In front of the beard four dots ❖

Rev. Legend indistinct. On the altar-shaft: རྒྱལ་པོ་ (?) *rust.*

Either attendant with mural crown and globe.


Drachm. R. S. 21. W. 4-07. →
Erm. No. 373, Coll. Barth.

Neither Mordtmann nor Paruck describe coins of Shapūr II with such a legend or with four dots in front of the bust. Three dots are seen on the same place on a coin of type I described by Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 64, No. 260.

64. *Obv.* Legend beginning in front of the globe:

madysn bgy shprh

On the globe obliterated strokes.

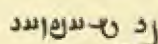
Rev. Legend only on the altar-shaft:  (?) *rast*.

Attendants without globe.


Drachm. *R.* S. 28. *W.* 4-25. →

Erm. No. 375 a.

65. *Obv.* Legend beginning in front of the breast:

 *bg* *Shpukhy*

On the the globe some curved lines.

Rev. Attendants without globe. No legend, but on the altar-shaft  (*r*)*ast*. The knots of the ribbon expressed by triangular figures.

Drachm. *R.* S. 29-5. *W.* 4-33. →

Erm. No. 361.

Paruck knows no coins with this legend on the *obv.*

66. *Obv.* Traces of legend.

In front of the face a star-shaped flower with eight petals as on P. No. 239. On the globe obliterated strokes.

Rev. No legends, but an indistinct one on the altar-shaft. Head-dress of the attendants indistinct.

Obol. *R.* S. 13. *W.* 0-62. →

Erm. No. 405.

Cf. Barth. VIII, 2; Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 59, No. 221; p. 61, No. 240, on all of which is a star with six beams.

67. *Obv.* No legend.

In front of the face a plant with three symmetrical pairs of leaves as on P. No. 225. No ties of diadem behind the crown, two ends of ribbon behind the globe. Globe obliterated.

Rev. No legends, but an indistinct one on the altar-shaft. Attendants with mural crown, the right one with globe.

Obol. *R.* S. 12. *W.* 0-72. →

Erm. No. 403.

Cf. Paruck, No. 225, where, as it seems, there are two ties of the diadem behind the crown, whilst behind the globe no ribbon is discernible on the reproduction.

68. *Obv.* No legend. As far as the condition of the coin permits one to judge, no ribbons whatever. In front of the face a symbol like the Ephtalite symbol, but without the two lower strokes. (See *Num. Chron.* 1894, 262, and P. No. 244.)

Rev. No legend. Attendants with indistinct head-dress.

One-eighth drachm (?). *R.* S. 11-5. *W.* 0-43. †
Erm. No. 408.

Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 60, No. 233. [Pl. XVI.]

69. *Obv.* No legend. In front of the face a symbol as on P. No. 228. Ties of the diadem behind the crown, no ribbon behind the globe.

Rev. No legend. Indistinct head-dress.


Æ. S. 17. *W.* 1-69. →
Erm. No. 410.

70. *Obv.* No legend. Indistinct symbol in front of the face. Behind the crown two ties of the diadem, behind globe two ends of a ribbon as usually on drachms of type II. Triple border of dots.


Rev. No legend. The left attendant with mural crown and globe, the right attendant's head-dress indistinct. "Frawahr symbol" on the altar-shaft. Triple border of dots.

Æ. S. 20-5. *W.* 2-98. †
Erm. No. 411. [Pl. XV.]

71. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in front of the breast.

...  *mlk* . . *y*


No ends of a ribbon behind the globe. In front of the face 2

On the altar-shaft  *ast*.

A dot on either side of the fire. A globe only on the mural crown of the left attendant.

Drachm. *R.* S. 24. *W.* 4-20. →
Erm. No. 418, Coll. Barth.

76. *Obv.* Barbarous legend. On the globe some strokes and dots.

Rev. Barbarous legend. On the altar-shaft  *rast*.

A globe only upon the left attendant's mural crown.

Drachm. *R.* S. 23-5. *W.* 4-09. →
Erm. No. 423.

Type II, variety 3.

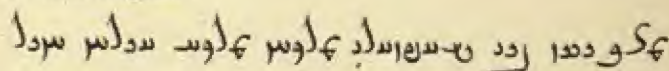
Above the altar a cross X without fire, instead of the flames and the god Hormizd. No globe above the head-dress of the attendants. There is only the unique obol in the Ermitage Museum, Barth. VIII, 3.

Type III.

Fire altar without attendants on *rev.* On *obv.* king's bust as usually with two ties of diadem floating behind the crown and two ends of a ribbon behind the globe.

The Ermitage collection contains six gold coins, two drachms, and three copper coins of that type.

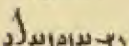
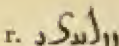
77. *Obv.* Legend :



mzdysn bgy shpehry mlkan mlka ayran anyr

On the globe some strokes and dots. The beard is tied by a ribbon.

Rev. Legend :

1.  *Shpvrh* r.  *nura zy*

N. S. 20. W. 7-30. →
Erm. No. 431, Coll. Barth.


The word *anyran* has not yet been met with on any coin of that type.

78. *Obv.* Legend illegible. On the globe some dotted strokes.

Rev. Legend illegible.

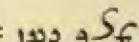
N. S. 22. W. 7-03. →
Erm. No. 426.

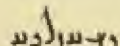
79. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in front of the breast :

...  *mzdysyn vrhya* ...


The rest is indistinct. On the right shoulder of the king two groups of triple dots, on his left shoulder one similar group. A dot in front of the king's chin. On the globe dots, but no strokes.

Rev. Legend :

r. beginning in the corner below :  *mzdysyn*

l. beginning above :  *shvryh*

between the altar-shaft and the right fuel-vessel :

 *mlky*

N. S. 18. W. 7-12. →
Erm. No. 429, Coll. Komarov. [Pl. XV.]

The *rev.* of this coin is very remarkable. The main legend with *mzdysyn* and the word *mlky* in the unusual place to right of the altar-shaft, are peculiarities very rarely met with on Sassanian coins.

Cf. Paruck, No. 179, with *mzdysyn* on *rev.* on a coin of Hormizd I (see Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 46), and P. No. 245,

with *mlky* to right of the altar-shaft on a coin of Shapūr II, type III (V. Smith, *Indian Museum Catalogue*, 224, No. 1, Pl. XXIV, No. 6). Cf. also Mordtmann, *ZDMG.* 34, 160, No. 557.

80. *Obv.* Legend, beginning in *f* on of the bust:

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 (sic) *mlka mlkan*

On the globe some strokes. The king's beard is tied with a ribbon.

Rev. No Legend.

Æ. S. 17.5. W. 7.18. →

Erm. N. 430, Coll. Komarov.

Paruck has described two gold coins of Shapūr II, type III, without legends on *rev.*, but one of them (P. No. 250) has on *obv.* a long legend, beginning with *mzdysn*, the other (P. No. 253) has a barbarous legend on *obv.*

81. *Obv.* No legend. In front of the face a symbol resembling the Ephtalite symbol (see *Num. Chron.* 1894, 262), but the upper part forms an acute angle standing on its point upon the horizontal line 𐭠

Rev. No legend.

Æ. S. 16.5. W. 1.85. ↘

Erm. No. 434, Coll. Komarov. [Pl. XVI.]

82. *Obv.* Legend indistinct. No ribbon behind the globe. In front of the face two dots :

Rev. Illegible legend.

Æ. S. 17.5. W. 1.67.

Erm. No. 436.

R. VASMER.

MISCELLANEA.

RECENT ENGLISH HOARDS

1. *Found in the suburbs of Belfast, 1928.*

A small hoard of silver pennies deposited about 1315 :

English pennies of Edward I and Edward II—

Class III (1280-1) .	London 2, Canterbury 2 .	4
IV a-c (1282-3) .	London 4, Canterbury 1 .	5
VII (c. 1290-4) .	London 1	1
IX a (1299-1300) .	London 1	1
IX b (1300-2) .	London 4, Bristol 1 . .	5
X a/IX b (1302) .	London 2, Durham (<i>sede vacante</i>) 1 .	3
X a (1302) .	London 1, Canterbury 1 .	2
X b (1302-3) .	London 2, Canterbury 1 .	3
X c-f (1303-7) .	London 8, Canterbury 5, Durham (Bek) 3, Bury St. Edmunds 1 . . .	17
XI (Bek died 1311) .	London 1, Canterbury 2, Durham (Bek) 1, Durham (Kellawe) 2	6
XIII (Kellawe died 1316)	Durham (Kellawe) 1 . .	1
Berwick pennies of Edward I or Edward II		4
Irish penny of Edward I		1
Scottish sterling of Alexander III (two stars of seven points, two pierced mullets of six points)		1
	Total	54

Mr. C. E. Blunt classifies the Berwick pennies as Mule III a/IV with old English *ſ* in *DRS* (1), Class IV b (1), IV c (1); he dates them c. 1300-1310.

2. *Coins found at Egton in the North Riding of Yorkshire on June 18, 1928.*

<i>English coins</i>	Elizabeth	Shillings	3	11
		Sixpences	8	
			—	
	James I	Shillings	5	7
		Sixpences	2	
			—	

		Brought forward	18
Charles I	Half-crown		
	(mm. Portcullis, 1633-4)	1	
	Shillings		
	(mm. Portcullis,		
	1633-4, & Star 1640-1)	3	
		—	4
Scottish thirty-shilling piece of James I (mm. Thistle)			1
			—
			23
			—

The coins of Charles I are all of the Tower mint, the latest mint-mark is Star (1640-1).

3. *Coins found at Grigglesstone in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1928.*

<i>English coins</i>	Mary	Groats	2	
	Philip and Mary	"	6	
	Elizabeth	Shillings	18	
		Sixpences	42	
		Threepence	1	
		—		61
	James I	Shillings	18	
		Sixpences	7	
		—		20
	Charles I	Half-crowns	12	
		Shillings	44	
		Sixpences	16	
		—		72
				161
<i>Scottish coins</i>	Charles I	Thirty-shilling piece (by Falkner; F in front of hoof)	1	
		Six-shilling piece (as Grueber, <i>Hand- book</i> , Pl. LI, 185)	1	
		—		
<i>Irish coins</i>	James I	Shillings	2	
		Sixpences	2	
		—		4
Uncertain coins				3
				—
		Total	170	

The English coins of Charles I are all of the Tower Mint; the latest mint-mark is the Triangle-in-circle (1641-3).

4. *Kettering Find.*

A small hoard of coins found recently in or near Kettering contained:

Elizabeth: Shillings (5), Sixpences (26)	. . .	31
James I: Shilling (1), Sixpences (3)	. . .	4
Charles I: Half-crowns (3), Shillings (19), Sixpences (6)		28

The coins of Charles are all of the Tower mint; the latest mint-mark is the Sun (1645-6). All the coins in the hoard are in bad condition.

5. *Coins found at Dundonald, Belfast, 1928.**English coins.*

Elizabeth, Sixpences: 1569, 1580, 1582	. . .	3
James I, Shillings (Lis, Thistle, Bell)	. . .	3
Charles I, Tower Shillings (Crown)	. . .	2
„ Tower Sixpence: 1625	. . .	1
Charles II, Shillings: 1670, 1671, 1673	. . .	6
„ Scottish Shilling, 1676	. . .	1

Low Countries.

Brabant under Philip IV—

Ducats: 1634, 1655	. . .	2
Patagons: 1634, 1653	. . .	2
Half-Ducaton: 1638	. . .	1

Flanders under Charles II—

Ducaton: 1668	. . .	1
Holland Daalder: 1661	. . .	1
Oberysse Daalder: 1659	. . .	1

Spanish Colonial.

Dollars of Mexico, Peru, and uncertain	. . .	8
Total		32

An English Posy Ring of the early seventeenth century with motto "I die or I schaing [change]" was found with the coins.

6. *Find of Spanish-American Onzas at Branston,
Lincolnshire, on 20 June, 1928.*

The eighteen gold coins in the find were all onzas of Charles IV of Spain struck in Central or South America:

Mexico.	M. FM.	1796
	M. FT	1802
Nicaragua.	NR. J.J.	1796, 1799, 1800, 1801 (2), 1802.
Peru.	P. SF.	1790
	P. JF.	1795, 1797 (2), 1799, 1800 (2), 1801 (2)
Peru: Lima.	Monogram of Lima and I.J. 1799.	

G. C. BROOKE.

LONDON SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS: ADDENDA.

p. 79. The Dog, or Greyhound Tavern, on Garlick Hill, stood at the north-east (not north-west) corner of Garlick Hill and Great St. Thomas Apostle (not Great Trinity Lane)—i.e. exactly opposite the site I describe, and not exactly behind the Mansion House Station. The plan, which I had overlooked before, is given in the *Survey* by Oliver and Mills, after the Fire, and it is quite clear.

[MS. Guildhall, 84/3, go. 54, b.]

p. 76. Token 1045; Fleet Bridge, the date should read 1649 (not 1639).

KENNETH ROGERS.

REVIEWS.

Italia Numismatica: eine Geschichte der italischen Geldsysteme bis zur Kaiserzeit. Von WALTHER GIESECKE. Mit 24 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1928.

AFTER an interval of only five years Dr. Giesecke has followed up his sumptuous book on Sicilian coins with an equally sumptuous book on the coins of Italy. The new volume is considerably larger than its predecessor, as the mass of material demands: in style it is uniform—a fine large quarto, beautifully printed on rough white paper, with excellent plates. As the *British Museum Catalogue of Italy*, which was never adequately illustrated, has long been out of print, students and collectors will gratefully welcome the handsome volume now offered to them.

Giesecke follows the same general plan as in his "Sicilia". The book falls into two main sections:—South Italy (pp. 1–170) and Rome (pp. 173–end). Inside each the material is grouped under a number of historical headings, succeeding one another in chronological order and carefully annotated with reference to the meanings of types, the interrelations of different coinages, and, above all, the metrology. Considering the difficulty and variety of the subject-matter, the book makes fairly easy reading. The author's obvious interest in history lends liveliness to his narrative and prompts many a new and attractive suggestion. At the same time he has naturally embodied in his work many acquisitions of earlier research. There is a good deal to satisfy our desire for knowledge, even more to stimulate fresh thought.

So far we can only express our gratitude for the service Giesecke has rendered us. But, when we consider the book as an independent contribution to research, some serious reservations must be made. Giesecke's first interest is in metrology and he has here a fair field open for research. But, unfortunately, he consistently underestimates the uncertainty and overestimates the value of metrological, as distinct from historical, evidence. Again, his book presupposes an elaborate chronological classification of the entire coinage of ancient Italy. But there is no one modern book in which such a classification can be found; and Giesecke's own classification, which is implicit, not explicit, in this book, often proves on examination to be seriously at fault and inconsistent with itself. These sweeping criticisms obviously depend partly on the individual judgement of the critic; but some justification of them in detail will be found

in the closer criticism of the two parts of the book that follows.

There is much that is attractive in Giesecke's presentation of the coinages of the Greeks in Italy: even where we may not share his certainties, we can welcome the new points of view that he offers. But great caution is called for in face of many of his suggestions. He offers us confident explanations of the many distinct standards of the didrachm found in Campania and Magna Graecia. But when, for example, he identifies the Campanian didrachm of 117 gr. (7.58 grm.)¹ with the Phoenician drachm and draws historical conclusions from the identification, we can only say that the historical connexions are, to put it mildly, obscure. How uncertain the whole subject is appears on pp. 31, 32, where Giesecke fixes the Achaean didrachm at a norm of 128.2 gr. (8.31 grm.), whereas specimens seldom reach 123.4 gr. (8.00 grm.).

For a correct metrology a correct chronology is a necessity. If we date our coins wrongly, our interpretations of the coin-system can hardly fail to be wrong too. And here Giesecke not infrequently goes far astray. The most serious error in date which we have noticed lies in the attribution of didrachms of Cales, Suessa Aurunca, Teanum Sidicinum, Nuceria Alfaterna, Paestum, and Cora, with ethnic ending in -ENO, -ANO, to the Second Punic War (pp. 162 ff.): a serious error, because it reveals not only misjudgement of style, but neglect or misuse of available historical records. In the first place, the rare termination -ENO, -ANO (CALENO, SUESANO) cannot be far separated in time from the ROMANO didrachms and copper: yet Giesecke dates the latest of these to about 290 B.C. In the second place, this coinage of Italian cities in the Second Punic War demands some historical explanation. Giesecke sees this and offers a suggestion. These cities, he says, struck in revolt against Rome: "Livy expressly tells us, that Cora, Cales, and Suessa followed the standards of Hannibal" (Livy, xxvii. 9,—p. 164, n. 2). But this is not at all what Livy does record. What he tells us is that Cora (? Sora), Cales, and Suessa were among the twelve colonies that declined further levies or payments on the ground of exhaustion in 209 B.C. Although the defection of these states caused profound alarm at Rome, there is no evidence that any of them went beyond neutrality; and, in any case, were these states—certainly genuinely exhausted by the war—likely to burst out just then into a fine silver coinage? So much for Cora, Cales, and Suessa. Teanum

¹ This weight seems to be assessed rather high.

is only mentioned in the Hannibalic war as loyal to Rome. Nuceria was destroyed by Hannibal in 216; its inhabitants were restored by Rome at Atella in 210. Paestum was consistently loyal throughout the war. Giesecke's hypothesis can be tested by history and definitely disproved by the test.

Turning to the section on Rome, we encounter a wealth of novel and interesting suggestions—some of them, we believe, of permanent value. The facts of the early Roman coinage are still so uncertain that considerable boldness may be pardoned in the inquirer; but, at the same time, we have already a few reliable tests of truth and Giesecke does not always submit his results to them. He supposes that Rome struck silver didrachms as early as 320 B.C. in three separate issues for three separate districts, but only passed on to a coinage of *Aes Grave* in the following period. The Italian *Aes Grave* probably centres in Etruria and falls a little after this. The main Roman series of *Aes Grave*, with the prow on reverse, is attributed, with the gold with the oath-scene and the silver "quadrigatus", to the period 290–280. To the Pyrrhic War is attributed the first reduction of the *As*, to 269 the issue of the denarius, quinarius, and sestertius, of the sextantal *As* and its parts, and of the gold with *obv.* Head of Mars, *rev.* Eagle. From the time of the Second Punic War narrower limits are set to our uncertainties. Among the new suggestions made by Giesecke are: (1) the placing of a standard *As* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. (216 B.C.) between the sextantal (269 B.C.), and the uncial (201 B.C.), and (2) the dating of the division of the denarius into sixteen *Asses* (instead of ten) to 201 B.C. Giesecke's general view of the semuncial reduction seems to be correct, but, in the later period of the Republic and in the Empire, he seems to be rather hasty in his judgements and commits himself to some very definite opinions—e.g. on the rights of the Senate over coinage (pp. 296 ff.) and the question of Augustus's mints (p. 321)—without fully mastering the evidence. One important suggestion about the Roman pound will be discussed further below.

How far can we follow Giesecke in his new and surprising suggestions? With regard to the origins of Roman coinage, he has not paid serious enough attention to the challenge recently thrown out to the earlier system of dating. He dismisses the attribution of the first Roman silver to the Pyrrhic war mainly on the ground that by the time of Pyrrhus the "gold and silver quadrigatus (*sic*) had undoubtedly long been introduced to Rome". That is precisely what is now contested. Even the fact, laudably recorded by Giesecke himself (p. 202, n. 1) that all our references to "quadrigati"

centre round the Hannibalic war does not seem to raise any doubts in his mind.

The financial system of 269 B.C., with its coinage in three metals, makes an imposing show, but there is a strange lack of conviction when we come to the First Punic War and its sequel down to 217. What happened in that great crisis of Roman fortunes? Well, numismatically almost nil. This contradicts important ancient evidence, as well as the inherent probabilities of the case. The fact is, Giesecke's system presents an accidental gap, produced by the pushing of most of the coinage of the First Punic War into an earlier period. Giesecke (p. 253) justifies the wealth of the coinage of 269 by a reference to the enormous booty won by Rome from Pyrrhus and Tarentum: what historical evidence is there for this? As a guess, it is open to serious question.

On the question of the division of the denarius into sixteen Asses, Pliny's evidence is notoriously difficult to understand and Giesecke's attempt to think it out again deserves all praise. Unfortunately, his dates are impossible. The group of moneyers, who place the mark XVI on their coins, cannot, on any system, be placed earlier than c. 168 B.C.: it is more probable that they fall as late as 135-130 B.C. But, even so, Giesecke's suggestion that Pliny has made a mistake must be seriously considered. With much that Giesecke writes on the period of inflation (c. 91-80 B.C.), one can fully concur. It should be noticed, however, that it was the elder Livius Drusus who "mixed an eighth part of copper in the silver", and that the period of inflation therefore begins with Gaius Gracchus.

There is very much besides in Giesecke's book, particularly on questions of metrology, that has not been discussed here, for the simple reason that, in the opinion of the present critic, these detailed studies of metrology are premature where the historical classification of the coins is still uncertain. Attention should, however, be drawn to Giesecke's theory that the Roman pound was originally of 4310 gr. (279.36 grm.) and that the new Roman pound of 5057 gr. (327.45 grm.) was only introduced into coinage under Tiberius. This theory can certainly claim some evidence in the weights of the coins, and calls attention to some obvious weaknesses in the views usually held: it cannot be dismissed at once without discussion.

Giesecke's book contains far too much to be covered in any single review. Its wealth of material will provide subject of thought and debate for many critics, who will make good any deficiencies of the present review. H. M.

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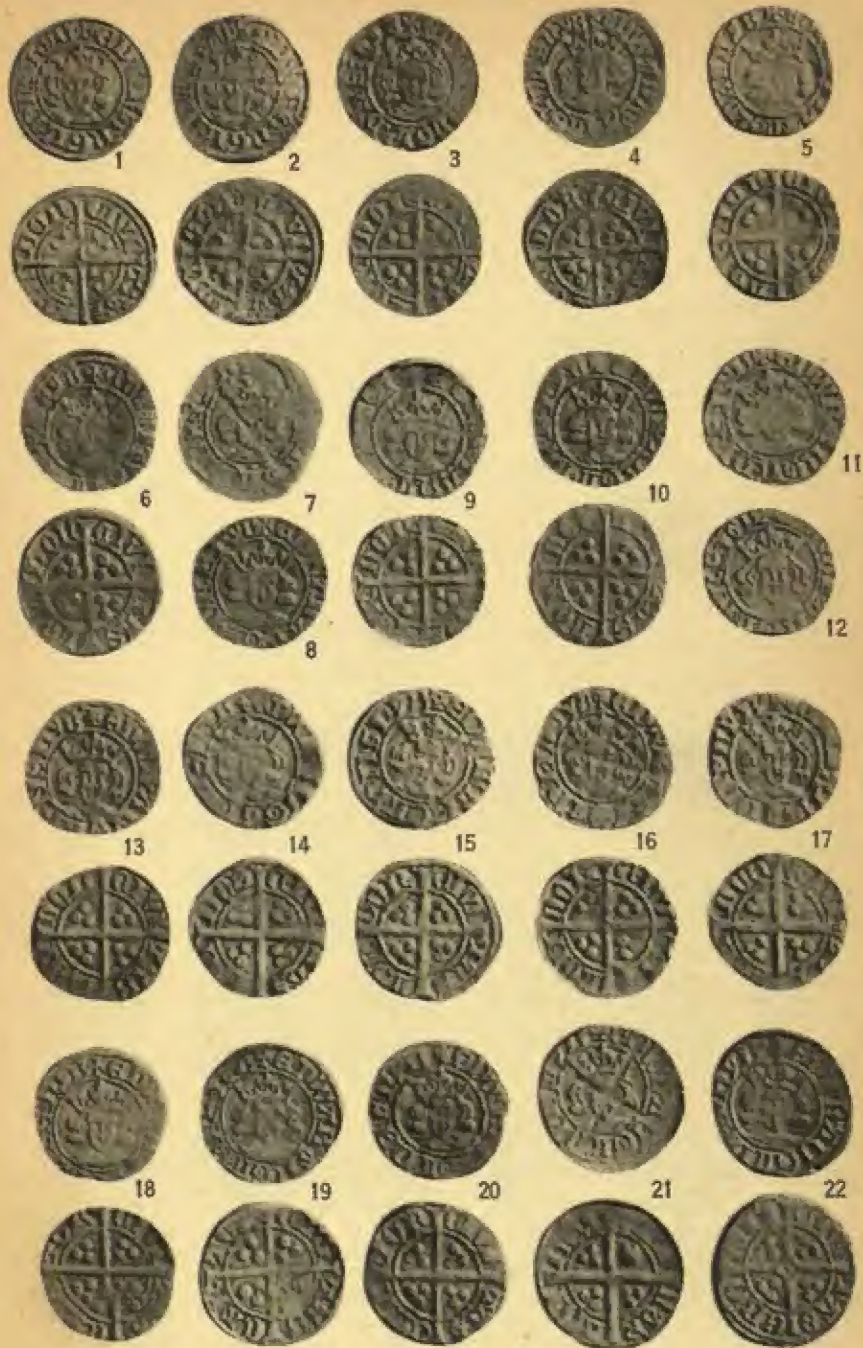
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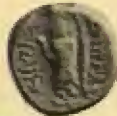
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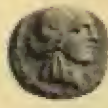
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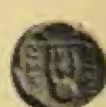
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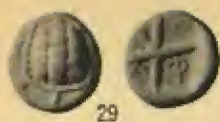


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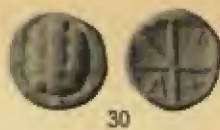




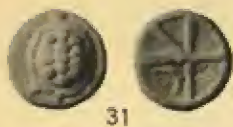




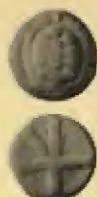
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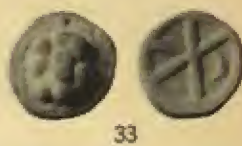
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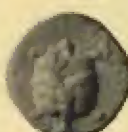
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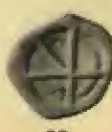
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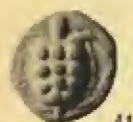
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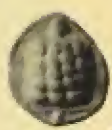
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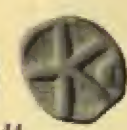
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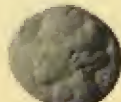
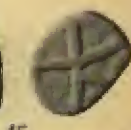
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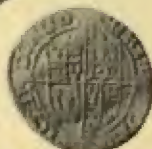
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- 1917 LAMB, MISS WINIFRED, Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W. 8.
- 1920 LAST, H. M., Esq., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
- 1910 LAUGHLIN, DR. W. A., M.A. (address not known).
- 1885 *LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq., F.S.A., 44 Belsize Square, N.W. 3, *Librarian*.
- 1883 *LAWRENCE, RICHARD HOE, Esq., Fifth Avenue Bank, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 LEWIS, JOHN CAMPBELL, Esq., Bridge House, Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Tydfil.
- 1900 †LINCOLN, FREDERICK W., Esq., 69 New Oxford Street, W.C. 1.
- 1922 LLOYD, ALBERT H., Esq., F.S.A., St. John's House, 73 Grange Road, Cambridge.
- 1922 *LLOYD, MISS MURIEL ELEANOR HAYDON, St. John's House, 73 Grange Road, Cambridge.
- 1907 LOCKETT, RICHARD CYRIL, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
- 1911 LONGMAN, W., Esq., F.S.A., 27 Norfolk Square, W. 2.
- 1924 DE LOREY, M. EUSTACHE, Institut Français, Damascus, Syria.
- 1921 LUCKNOW MUSEUM, The Curator of the, Lucknow, India.
- 1893 LUND, H. M., Esq., Waitara, Taranaki, New Zealand.
- 1903 LYDDON, FREDERICK STICKLAND, Esq., Brooklands, Chelston, Torquay.
- 1895 MACDONALD, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1901 MACFADYEN, FRANK E., Esq., 17 St. George's Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1923 MALLINSON, REV. ARNOLD, 2 Abbey Road, Oxford.
- 1927 MARTIN, GEORGE CASTOR, Esq., Rockport, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1912 MATTINGLY, HAROLD, Esq., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1905 MAVROGDATO, J., Esq., Gilridge, Cowden Pound, Edenbridge, Kent.
- 1921 MAYROJANI, CAPTAIN S., M.A., B.C.L., Clyro Court, Clyro, Hereford.

ELECTED

- 1901 McDOWALL, REV. STEWART A., 5 Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
- 1905 McEWEN, HUGH DRUMMOND, Esq., 13 Lovelace Road, West Dulwich, S.E. 21.
- 1916 MEIGH, ALFRED, Esq., Dole Spring House, Forsbrook, Stoke-on-Trent.
- 1905 MESSENGER, LEOPOLD G. P., Esq., 151 Brecknock Road, Tufnell Park, N. 19.
- 1928 MIDDLETON, LAWRENCE H., Esq., 49 Queen's Road, N.W. 8.
- 1924 MILLER, HOYT, Esq., East Shore Road, Great Neck, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
- 1897 MILNE, J. GRAFTON, Esq., M.A., 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1921 MILNE, MRS. J. GRAFTON, 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1910 MITCHELL LIBRARY, THE, Glasgow, The Librarian.
- 1898 *MONCKTON, HORACE W., Esq., F.L.S., F.G.S., 3 Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C. 4, and Whiteclairs, Wellington College Station, Berks.
- 1920 MONTAGU, ALFRED C., Esq., 8 Essex Villas, W. 8.
- 1888 MONTAGUE, LIEUT.-COL. L. A. D., Penton, near Crediton, Devon.
- 1905 MOORE, WILLIAM HENRY, Esq. (address not known).
- 1879 MORRIESEN, LIEUT.-COL. H. W., R.A. (ret'd.), F.S.A., F.R.S.A., 42 Beaufort Gardens, S.W. 3, *Honorary Secretary*.
- 1904 MOULD, RICHARD W., Esq., Newington Public Library, Walworth Road, S.E. 17.
- 1916 *MYLNE, EVERARD, Esq. (address not known).
- 1909 NAGG, STEPHEN K., Esq., 1621 Master Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1928 NAVILLE, MONSIEUR LUCIEN, 5-7 Rue Levrier, Geneva.
- 1906 NEWBERRY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1905 *NEWELL, E. T., Esq., President of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1924 NORDHEIM, E., Esq., 86 Heimhuderstrasse, Hamburg.
- 1916 OGLE, CHRISTOPHER, Esq., M.A., Austin Friars House, E.C. 2.
- 1897 *O'HAGAN, HENRY OSBORNE, Esq., Riverhome, Hampton Court.
- 1882 OMAN, PROF. SIR CHARLES, M.P., K.B.E., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., All Souls College, Oxford, *President*.
- 1925 OMAN, CHARLES CHICHELE, Esq., M.A., Victoria and Albert Museum, S.W. 7.

ELECTED

- 1911 OPPENHEIMER, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 9 Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8.
- 1904 ORBELIANI, COL. ROMAN, F.R.G.S., National City Bank, Madison Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1922 PAKENHAM, IVO R. R. L., Esq., St. James' Club, 106 Piccadilly, W. 1.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, Esq., Dalnair, Cedar Avenue, Rickmansworth.
- 1926 PEARCE, J. W. E., Esq., M.A., 10 Cromwell Place, S.W. 1.
- 1917 PHIPPS, LIEUT.-COL. P. RAMSAY, F.R.G.S., 17 St. James's Court, S.W. 1.
- 1927 PINCHES, JOHN ROBERT, Esq., 21 Albert Embankment, S.E. 11.
- 1928 PIRIE GORDON, H., Esq., D.S.C., M.A., 46 Addison Avenue, W. 11.
- 1927 POND, SHEPARD, Esq., 258 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1915 POYSER, A. W., Esq., M.A., 64 Highfield Street, Leicester.
- 1923 PRAGUE, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1903 PRICE, HARRY, Esq., Arun Bank, Pulborough, Sussex.
- 1911 PRICHARD, A. H. COOPER, Esq. (address not known).
- 1913 RAO, K. ANANTASAMI, Esq., Curator of the Government Museum, Bangalore, India.
- 1890 RAPSON, PROF. F. J., M.A., M.R.A.S., 8 Mortimer Road, Cambridge.
- 1923 RAVEL, MONSIEUR O., 7 Bd. de Lorraine, Pointe Rouge, Marseilles.
- 1909 RAYMOND, WAYTE, Esq., 489 Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1903 REGAN, W. H., Esq., 17 Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. 2.
- 1876 *ROBERTSON, J. DRUMMOND, Esq., M.A., Comrie Lodge, Higher Warberry Road, Torquay.
- 1911 *ROBINSON, E. S. G., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 23 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
- 1910 ROGERS, REV. EDGAR, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., 5 Essex Villas, W. 8.
- 1928 ROGERS, KENNETH, Esq., O.B.E., M.D., Alford, 16 Upper Park Road, Bromley, Kent.
- 1919 ROSE, EDWARD E. PILKINGTON, Esq., I.C.S., Loughton, Essex.
- 1924 ROWE, CAPTAIN FRANCIS G. C., Malt End Cottage, Ewell, Surrey.

ELECTED

- 1903 RUBEN, PAUL, Esq., Ph.D., Alte Rabenstrasse 8, Hamburg, Germany.
- 1919 RYAN, V. J. E., Esq., Grand Hôtel des Avants, Montreux, Switzerland.
- 1916 SAINT LOUIS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- 1872 *SALAS, MIGUEL T., Esq., 247 Florida Street, Buenos Ayres.
- 1916 *SALISBURY, F. S., Esq., M.A., Dorset House, Parkland Grove, Ashford, Middlesex.
- 1919 SAVAGE, W. LISLE, Esq., 11 Faith Street, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1917 SEABY, B. A., Esq., Oxford Circus House, W. 1.
- 1926 SEABY, MISS MILDRED, Oxford Circus House, W. 1.
- 1907 *SELTMAN, CHARLES T., Esq., M.A., 39 Barton Road, Cambridge.
- 1890 SELTMAN, E. J., Esq., Villa Maria, S. Giorgio a Cremano, Naples.
- 1913 SHIRLEY-FOX, J. S., Esq., R.B.A., 3 Lansdown Crescent, Bath.
- 1896 SIMPSON, C. E., Esq. (address not known).
- 1893 *SIMS, BRIG.-GENERAL R. F. MAXLEY, C.M.G., D.S.O., 163 Strand, W.C. 2.
- 1896 SINHA, KUMVAR KUSHAL PAL, M.A., RAIS OF KOTLA, Kotla, Agra, India.
- 1918 *SLIGO, THE MARQUESS OF, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 7 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
- 1905 SNELLING, EDWARD, Esq., 26 Silver Street, E.C. 2.
- 1909 SOUTZO, M. MICHEL, 8 Strada Romana, Bucharest.
- 1922 SPENCER-CHURCHILL, CAPT. E. G., M.C., F.S.A., Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcestershire.
- 1925 SPINK, MARTIN S., Esq., B.A., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., Woodhouse, Ilfley, Oxford.
- 1922 STARKEY, W. BEAMONT, Esq., Lyonsdown, Ilfracombe.
- 1928 STERRING, W. P. D., Esq., F.S.A., Fiveways, Deal.
- 1914 *STREATFIELD, MRS. SYDNEY, 22 Park Street, W. 1.
- 1910 SUTCLIFFE, ROBERT, Esq., 21 Market Street, Burnley, Lancs.
- 1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, West Molesey, Surrey.
- 1885 SYMONDS, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Ellenborough Park N., Weston-super-Mare.

ELECTED

- 1896 *TAPPS, H. W., Esq., 35 Greenholm Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
 1879 TALBOT, COL. THE HON. MILO G., C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., 190 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 1917 TAYLOR, GLEN A., Esq., 63 Lewis Road, Neath, Glamorgan.
 1892 *TAYLOR, R. WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Bayesgarth Park, Barton-upon-Humber.
 1887 THAIRLWALL, F. J., Esq., 12 Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
 1925 THOMAS, CECIL, Esq., 7 Gloucester Terrace, S.W. 7.
 1920 THOMAS, J. ROCHELLE, Esq., Elm House, Ellison Road, S.W. 13.
 1918 THORBURN, PHILIP, Esq., B.A., 49 South Side, Clapham Common, S.W. 4.
 1894 TRIGGS, A. B., Esq., 33 Macquarie Place, Sydney, New South Wales.

 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome.
 1916 VANES, REV. J. A., Wesleyan Mission, 24 Bishopsgate, E.C.
 1899 VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., 12 Allée des Capucines, Marseilles, France.

 1923 WALES, The National Museum of, Cardiff.
 1883 WALKER, R. K., Esq., M.A., J.P., Watergate, Meath Road, Bray, Ireland.
 1924 WALLWORTH, I. N. G., Esq., Fairbanks, Stanley Park Road, Carshalton.
 1897 WALTERS, FRED. A., Esq., F.S.A., 28 Great Ormonde Street, W.C. 1, and St. Mildred's, Temple Ewell, Dover.
 1911 WARRE, FELIX W., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
 1920 *WATSON, COMMANDER HAROLD NEWALL, R.N., Belmont, 10 Curzon Park, Chester.
 1901 *WATTERS, CHARLES A., Esq., Springfields, Park Road, Hayton, Liverpool.
 1917 WATTS, GERALD A., Esq., Drumlerry, Londonderry.
 1901 WEBB, PERCY H., Esq., M.B.E., 4 and 5 West Smithfield, E.C. 1, *Hon. Treasurer*.
 1885 *WEBER, F. PARKES, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
 1899 WELCH, FRANCIS BERTRAM, Esq., B.A., Penyllan, Gadshill Road, Charlton Kings, Gloucestershire.
 1920 *WHEELER, ERNEST H., Esq., 56 Caledonian Road, N. 1.

ELECTED

- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., M.A., M.B.A.S., I.C.S. (retd.),
75 Panton Street, Cambridge.
- 1908 WILLIAMS, T. HENRY, Esq., 15 Stanwick Road, W. 14.
- 1910 WILLIAMS, W. I., Esq., Beech Villa, Nelson, Cardiff.
- 1906 WILLIAMSON, CAPT. W. H. (address not known).
- 1927 WILLS, L. E., Esq., 52 Church Street, Falmouth.
- 1906 WOOD, HOWLAND, Esq., Curator of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, W. of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 39 Harley House, N.W. 1.
- 1920 *WOODWARD, A. M. TRACEY, Esq., Chinese P.O. Box No. 1044, Shanghai, China.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), 42 Ravenscroft Avenue, N.W. 11.
- 1920 WYMAN, ARTHUR CRAWFORD, Esq., 29 Place Dauphine, Paris 1.
- 1922 YOANNA, A. DE, Esq., B.A., M.D., 111 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- 1880 YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12 Hyde Park Terrace, W. 2.
- 1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park, Manchester.

HONORARY FELLOWS

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY,
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1903 BAHRFELDT, GENERAL DER INFANTERIE A. D., PROFESSOR
MAX VON, Dr. Phil., Zinksgarten-Strasse 2, Halle (Saale),
Germany.
- 1898 BLANCHET, M. ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd.
Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1926 DIEUDONNÉ, MONSIEUR A., Conservateur des Médailles,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROF. DR. ETTORE, S. Giuseppe dei Nudi 75, Naples.
- 1904 KUBITSCHKE, PROF. J. W., Pichlergasse 1, Vienna IX.
- 1893 LOERBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse 1, Brunswick.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BERENDT, Münzkabinett, Gotha.
- 1895 †REINACH, M. THÉODORE, Membre de l'Institut, 2 Place des
États-Unis, Paris.
- 1926 TOURNEUR, M. VICTOR, Conservateur des Médailles, Biblio-
thèque Royale, Brussels.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.
- 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
- 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- 1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
- 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
- 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
- 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
- 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
- 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
- 1893 M. W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
- 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
- 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
- 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1899 M. ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
- 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1903 M. GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
- 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
- 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
- 1907 BARCLAY V. HEAD, Esq., D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
- 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSER, Berlin.
- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1923 PROF. J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.
- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Esq., Montreal.
- 1927 M. A. DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
- 1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1927—1928.

OCTOBER 20, 1927.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1926.
2. Antiquaries Journal, July 1927.
3. Archaeologia Aeliana, 1927.
4. British Museum Quarterly, Vol. ii, Pt. 1.
5. Essays in Aegean Archaeology, presented to Sir Arthur Evans.
6. Hellenic Journal, 1927, Pt. 1.
7. La Monetazione del Bronzo nella Sicilia Antica, by Ettore Gabrici; *from the Author*.
8. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, xli.
9. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1926, Pts. 3 and 4.
10. Revue Numismatique, 1927, Pts. 1 and 2.
11. Satirical and Controversial Medals of the Reformation, by F. Pierrepont Barnard; *from the Author*.
12. Syria, 1927, Pt. 2.

Mr. Philip Thorburn exhibited a mohur of Aurangzib of Multan, 1074 A.H., and a Persian copper coin of Isfahan, 1119 A.H., type Lion and Sun.

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., showed seven profile groats of Henry VII of the earliest varieties. (1) mm. greyhound's head on both sides. (2) mm. *obv.* lys; *rev.* greyhound's head, *without* numerals to name. (3) *Obv.* mm. lys; *rev.* greyhound's head, *with* numerals after name. (4) mm. lys, *obv.* and *rev.* (5) No mintmark either side. (6) mm. cross-crosslet, *obv.* and *rev.*; on latter over lys (?), with early portrait. (7) Ordinary groat of common type, mm. cross-crosslet for comparison.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a florin dated 1927, coined in the Melbourne Mint to commemorate the opening of Parliament House, Canberra, New South Wales, Australia, by the Duke of York, in May 1927. The obverse was designed by Sir Bertram Mackennal and the reverse by Mr. George Kruger Gray.

Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox and Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a series of coins in illustration of the paper.

Mr. Shirley-Fox gave an outline of the English silver coinage during the period 1344-51, commonly known as the Florin-type pennies and halfpennies. (This paper is published in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 16-47.)

NOVEMBER 17, 1927.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of October 20 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :

1. *Antiquaries Journal*, 1927, Pt. 4.
2. *Archæologia*, Third Series, Vol. iv.
3. *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. ii, Pt. 2.
4. Burns, A. R. : *Money and Monetary History in Early Times*.
5. Farquhar, Miss H. : (a) *An Emergency Coinage in Ireland*.
(b) *Some Portrait Medals struck between 1745 and 1752 for Charles Edward*. (c) *Royal Charities*, Series II, Pt. II; *from the Author*.

6. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. lvii, Pt. 1.

7. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1926, Vol. xxxix.

8. Syria, 1927, Pt. 3.

Messrs. John R. Pinches and G. C. Martin were proposed for election as Fellows of the Society.

Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin showed a billon coin of Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian, a hitherto unknown variety of "Carausius et fratres sui" reading, *obv.* C. VAL. DIO [CL. MAXIM. CARAVS.] AVGGG; *rev.* PAX AVGGG. mm. S.P/C.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison showed five European imitations of Edward pennies of Gui de Dampierre of Namur, Robert III of Flanders, John the Blind of Luxemburg, and Louis of Bavaria.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited two of the rarest of the Victorian farthings: (1) *Copper* $\frac{1}{4}$ d. of 1860, from the F. G. Lawrence collection (mint state), and (2) *Bronze* $\frac{1}{4}$ d. of 1877, from the Huth collection (proof condition).

Mr. Philip Thorburn showed a gold mohur, A.H. 1252 (A.D. 1838) year of reign 31, of the Indian Native State of Dholpur, struck by Kirat Singh in name of the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Akbar II. Unpublished in gold. Webb, in his book on *The Currencies of Rajputana*, states that "only silver coins were struck at Dholpur".

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher showed three varieties of the seventeenth-century token of the Glanwrought Iron Works, Co. Kerry, which were founded by Sir William Petty, and the two varieties of the "Voce Populi" farthing (from the F. G. Lawrence collection).

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited a Henry VII groat, second coinage, mm. *obv.* greyhound's head, *rev.* rose, double-arched crown, and another with single-arched crown, both rare, and the latter perhaps unique.

Mr. R. C. Lockett, F.S.A., exhibited a beautiful tetradrachm of Sinope with countermarks (*obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* head of Heracles); a tetradrachm of Philip V. (*rev.*

Athena Alkis); and a tetradrachm of Macedon under the Romans.

Mr. G. C. Brooke read a paper on the so-called "Tealby" coinage or first issue of Henry II. (This paper was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1927, pp. 313-42.)

DECEMBER 15, 1927.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of November 17 were read and approved.

The following Present to the Society was announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donor:

H. W. Domett: The Bank of New York, 1874-84; *Presented by Mr. F. A. Harrison.*

Messrs. J. R. Pinches and G. C. Martin were elected Fellows of the Society and Mr. Pirie Gordon was proposed for election.

Mr. C. E. Blunt showed a unique penny of Ceolwulf II, with *rev.* two Emperors type, from the Cuerdale hoard.

Mr. W. Gilbert exhibited a very fine denarius of Pescennius Niger (Cohen 54) from the Prove collection.

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a series of late Roman brass of Saloninus, Florian, Carus, Carinus, and Nepotianus.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright showed ten zodiacal mohurs of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir and an electrotype of the portrait coin of Akbar, struck by Jahangir.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead read a paper on "Zodiacal and Portrait Coins of the Emperor Jahangir". He dealt with the contemporary allusions in Indian and foreign travellers to this remarkable series and called attention to many specimens in foreign collections. The story of the influence of Nur Jahan on the coinage was discussed and shown to be no mere traveller's tale. The portrait coins of Jahangir

were next dealt with. The character of the Emperor and his religious views were shown to be reflected in the coinage. The portrait on the unique coin of Jahangir with reverse sun was shown to be Akbar. (This paper will be published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1929.)

JANUARY 19, 1928.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of December 15, 1927, were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :

1. *Antiquaries Journal*, 1928, Pt. 1.
2. *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. ii, Pt. 3.
3. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1927, Vol. 132.
4. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1926-7.
5. *Revue Numismatique*, 1927, Pts. 3-4.
6. *Revue Numismatique Slovaque*, 1927.
7. *Royal Mint*: 57th Annual Report.

Mr. Pirie Gordon, D.S.C., M.A., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited on behalf of Spink & Son, Ltd.

(1) *Solidus of Honorius*. This coin shows the emperor wearing a cuirass ornamented with Christogram and does not appear to be known to Cohen.

(2) *Siliqua of Flaccilla*: perhaps one of the rarest coins of the Roman series.

(3) *Dupondius of Valerian Junior*: one of the last issues of the real bronze coinage of the Empire.

(4) A curious set of "box coins": Charles II Crown, 1662; half-crown, 1666; shilling, 1664. The half-crown and shilling differ considerably from the usual types and sizes.

Sir Charles Oman exhibited three new bronze coins of Carausius and the pattern crown recently struck to his design at the Royal Mint with the motto GIVE PEACE IN OUR TIME.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger exhibited a set of vulcanite tokens issued by E. Ch. Sharrer at Kubula Stores, Blantyre, British Central Africa, for 1d., 2d., 4d., 8d., 1/-, 2/6, and 2/8, in use between 1890 and 1895; unpublished, and possibly unique as a set.

He also showed five specimens of the follis of the Emperors Diocletian (1), Maximian (1), Galerius Maximianus (1), and Constantius I (2), all with reverse GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, but without letters or mint-marks and usually assigned to the mint of London.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison, F.Z.S., showed a series of French modern coins from Louis XIV to Third Republic, illustrating the last 250 years of French history.

Mr. P. Thorburn exhibited (1) Afghanistan, Abd al Rahman, gold half-tilla A.H. 1299. (2) Assam, Śiva Simha gold mohur, Śaka 1638=A.D. 1716. (3) Oudh, Amjad Ali Shah gold mohur, A.H. 1261. (4) Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah gold mohur A.H. 1267. All rare and rather unusual coins, especially No. 1.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed the following third-century Roman coins (1) Claudius Gothicus, Head 1. SPES PVBLICA. Salus r. and Aesculapius l.; (2) Victorinus, SALVS, not normal fabric; (3) Tetricus, four coins of unusual fabric, probably from an irregular Gallic mint; (4) An overstruck coin, the original GLORIA EXERCITVS struck *rev. to obv.* The bust bearded, and the reverse belonging to it, probably FEL TEMP. REPARATIO; (5) Radiate head r. NA - - - OBOT AAP; (6) a very small coin showing tiny head r. somewhat resembling Constantius II or later emperor, reverse of which shows three letters, but the type is not discernible; (7) Tetricus with reverse, which appears under Gallienus, a griffin(?).

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a set of the new coinage for Palestine, silver 100 mils and 50 mils, and nickel 20 mils,

10 mils, and 5 mils, all dated 1927, and bearing legends in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

The President read a paper on the pennies of Halfdene, Ceolwulf II of Mercia, and Alfred, which bear as the reverse type the seated figures of two emperors with a winged victory above, a type common in the fourth century in gold coins from the time of Valens and Valentinian I to that of Theodosius II and Valentinian III. (This paper will be printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

FEBRUARY 16, 1928.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of Jan. 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors :

1. Alexandrian bronze of Augustus, by J. G. Milne; *from the Author*.

2. Fornvånnen Meddelanden, 1927.

3. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1927.

4. U.S. National Museum Report, 1927.

5. Walthamstow Tokens, by J. Coxall; *from the Author*.

Messrs. G. F. Hayter, W. P. D. Stebbing, and Dr. Kenneth Rogers, M.B.E., were elected Fellows of the Society, and Messrs. L. H. Middleton and C. F. Duncan were proposed for election.

The evening was devoted to exhibitions.

Dr. S. H. Fairbairn exhibited four medals of Necker 1789. Two of them celebrate his final recall to office. The illiterate spelling on the smaller white medal is typical of many medals of this period. The legend on the bottom reads "NECKER JOUIS DE LA GLOIRE LES HOMMES COMMENCENT A TE CONNOITRE".

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited two bronze coins of Carausius. (1) Barbarous: IMP CARVSVS, lion reverse $\chi\mu$; (2) overstruck on Philip I (described in *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 135).

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison showed the crown pieces from Edward VI to George V to compare the new issues with the old.

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited three bronze coins of the Emperor Otho of Alexandria, and three of Antioch, also four shillings of Philip and Mary: (1) 1554 with Neapolitan and Spanish titles; (2) 1554 with English title only—rare of this date; (3) 1554 with date *below* busts, very rare; (4) 1555 with English title only, as usual of this date.

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited a bronze coin of Pescennius Niger of Caesarea Germanica, of great rarity, two naval medals, and three anti-slavery medals.

Mr. H. W. Taffs exhibited a series of coins countermarked for the West Indies and for Scottish and other tokens. These are mostly countermarked on Spanish coins: (1) Foreign countermarks; (2) Fort Marlbro', 2-Sookoo-piece; (3) rare pattern rupee for India, of Edward VII, 1901; (4) gold ingot piece of South Australia; (5) copper countermarked for West Indies, including the Barbados; penny countermarked with G R surmounted by a crown.

Mr. William Gilbert showed a rare bronze penny 1861 (weight 40 to lb., not 48). This issue was abandoned by Treasury Order early in January 1861. This specimen formerly belonged to G. R. Robertson, of the Soho Mint, Birmingham.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited (1) British Imperial three-pence dated 1893, bearing the Jubilee bust of Queen Victoria on the obverse; (2) Ceylon: quarter cent dated 1904; (3) Columbia: one and a quarter centavo dated 1874; (4) Guatemala: quarter real dated 1894; (5) Panama: two and a half centesimos dated 1904; (6) Pudukota State, India: Amman cash (sixteenth of an anna). This coin

has no date on it; (7) Siam: twenty satangs, ten satangs, five satangs, and two and a half satangs; these pieces were coined in the Mint, Birmingham, in 1898, and were withdrawn from circulation in 1900.

MARCH 15, 1928.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of February 16 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. xxxix.
2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1927.

Messrs. L. H. Middleton and C. F. Duncan were elected Fellows of the Society, and Mr. Lucien Naville was proposed for election.

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited two groats of Edward VI. one with his own portrait and the other with that of Henry VIII.

Mr. L. L. Fletcher showed obsidional coins of Geneva 1890 and a copper coin of King Amanullah of Afghanistan.

Dr. S. H. Fairbairn showed a medal of Le Tellier made from bullets fired on the day of Vendemiaire, 1795.

Mr. W. Gilbert showed an aureus of Lucilla, *rev.* Venus (Cohen, 69), from the Huth and Morcom collections and a first brass of Drusus Senior (Cohen, 8).

Mr. P. H. Webb and Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed coins of Septimius Severus and family in illustration of Mr. Mattingly's paper.

The President exhibited the five denominations (gold, silver, and bronze) of Constantius Gallus as Caesar.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited (a) the British Imperial silver half-crown, florin, shilling, and sixpence, all dated 1928, and bearing on the obverse the remodelled effigy of His Majesty King George the Fifth, by Sir Bertram Mackennal,

and on the reverse new designs by Mr. George Kruger Gray; (b) Cyprus silver forty-five piastres dated 1878-1928, commemorating the jubilee of the British occupation of the island; the obverse by Sir Bertram Mackennal and the reverse by Mr. George Kruger Gray.

Mr. H. Mattingly read a paper on "The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his family". The death of Commodus, like the death of Nero, was followed by disturbances in the Empire, which led to the opening of new mints, in the types of which much of the stirring history was recorded. Pescennius Niger struck at Antioch, Septimius Severus at Alexandria and at two of the Syrian mints, perhaps Laodicea and Emisa. The progress of the civil war between them is to some extent reflected in the types that they struck. In the West, Albinus, after his breach with Septimius, opened a mint at Lugdunum. His earlier coinage as Caesar had been struck by permission of Septimius at Rome. Of the campaigns of Septimius in Britain there is no direct numismatic record, but it is possible that certain "barbarous" imitations of his coinage, found in Britain, are in some way or another connected with them.

APRIL 19, 1928.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of March 15 were read and approved.

Monsieur Lucien Naville was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. William Gilbert showed a very fine aureus of Pertinax (Cohen, No. 41).

Miss Farquhar read a paper on a "Fraudulent Emergency Coinage of the XVIIth Century". (This paper is printed in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1928, pp. 199-212.)

MAY 17, 1928.

SIR CHARLES OWAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of April 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Antiquaries Journal, 1928, Part 2.
2. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. iv, edited by J. Allan.

Messrs. Henry Garside and William Gilbert were appointed to audit the Society's accounts.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison exhibited a series of fine early Spanish and Neapolitan coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Mr. John R. Pinches showed two prize medals (designed by the exhibitor) of the London School of Tropical Medicine with a bust of Sir Patrick Manson.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a sestertius of Trajan with a draped and cuirassed bust to r., in unusually high relief, and a bronze coin of Plotina apparently struck from aureus or denarius dies.

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited a series of Byzantine folles and a series of English silver coins of the last 120 years.

Mr. V. J. E. Ryan showed a tetradrachm of Agrigentum (*B. M. Cat.*, No. 58), and an early didrachm of Metapontum and four rare bronze coins of Hadrian.

Miss Helen Farquhar showed a series of medallions by Simon Van der Passe of Tudors and Stewarts from the Rosenheim and Green collections and a collection of early medals of Charles II formed by Mr. C. Broadley for his book *The Travels of the King*.

Mr. Martin Spink exhibited three rare Mormon gold coins 'Eye of the Lord' type, 5 dollars, 1850, and 2½ dollars, 1849, and 5 dollars 'Holiness to the Lord', 1860; he also

showed a unique drachm of Sinope reading ΣΙΝΩΠΗ in full, and two rare Corinthian colonial staters of Echinus and Mesma.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited a magnificent first brass of Commodus (Coh. 395), struck in A. D. 183, from the Carfrae, 'Astronomer', Evans and Vierordt collections, struck on a large flan, with portrait in high relief; on the reverse the S-C occurs twice.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a London groat of Henry VI of his restoration coinage, 1470-1, *obv.* mm. cross, *rev.* small lys after DEVM, a new variety. It has the same mm., an inverted cross, as the rare groat with mm. lys on the *rev.* before POSVI.

Mr. Walters also showed six sestertii of Pertinax, reverse LIB AUG (one without S-C from the de Viry Sale, 1909), AEQVIT-AVG, LAETITIA TEMPORVM, VOT DECEN-PROVIDENTIAE DEORVM, and one of Titiana (of Alexandria).

Mr. Philip Thorburn exhibited an interesting series of 37 Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Kushan coins including a drachm of Sophytes, tetradrachm of Apollodotos, Strabo, rare bronze coins of Diodotos, Archebius, Epander, Zoilus, Nikias, &c.

Sir Charles Oman exhibited and read a note on a possible consecrationary issue of Valerian struck by Gallienus: *obv.* elderly portrait of Valerian, IMP VALERIANVS P AVG: *rev.* a flaming altar: CONSECRATIO.

JUNE 21, 1928.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 19, 1927, were read and approved.

Messrs. A. H. Brittan and L. L. Fletcher were appointed scrutineers of the ballot.

The following report of the Council was laid before the Society.

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the deaths of the following four Fellows of the Society :

Robert Allatini.	Ferris P. Merritt.
Herbert A. Grueber.	William H. Valentine.

They have also to announce the resignation of the following two Fellows :

Thomas L. Elder.	John H. Pinches.
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On the other hand they have to report the election of the following nine Ordinary Fellows :

C. F. Duncan, Esq.	G. C. Martin, Esq.
H. Pirie Gordon, Esq., D.S.C.	Monsieur Lucien Naville.
John R. Pinches, Esq.	G. C. F. Hayter, Esq., B.A.
Kenneth Rogers, Esq., O.B.E., M.D.	L. H. Middleton, Esq.
	P. J. D. Stebbing, Esq., F.S.A.

The number of Fellows is therefore :

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1927	254	11	265
Since elected	9	—	9
	263	11	274
Deceased	4	—	4
Resigned	2	—	2
	257	11	268

The Council have also to report that they have awarded the Society's Medal to Sir Charles Oman, President of the Society, in recognition of his contributions to the study of numismatics, his activities in the interests of numismatics, and his eminence as historian.

The Treasurer's Report which follows was then laid before the Meeting :

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE 1ST, 1927,

Dr.

THE SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.
To cost of Chronicles	629	11	9
„ Rent of Room	50	0	0
„ Bookbinding	1	9	3
„ Refreshments, &c.	6	7	3
„ Lantern Expenses	6	15	9
„ Insurance	1	10	0
„ Sundry Payments	9	17	8
	<hr/>		
	£705	11	8
„ Balance carried forward—	£	s.	d.
General Account	82	1	5
Research Account	27	18	0
	<hr/>		
	169	19	5
	<hr/>		
	£815	11	1
	<hr/>		

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

TO MAY 31ST, 1928.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

£s.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance in hand, June 1, 1927—</i>						
General Account	255	16	3			
Research Account	27	0	11			
				282	17	2
<i>By Subscriptions—</i>						
Ordinary	319	13	3			
Balance of Life Subscription	8	3	0			
Entrance Fees	9	9	0			
				337	5	3
<i>By Sales of Chronicles—</i>						
Current Numbers	128	12	6			
Old Numbers	26	15	4			
				155	7	10
<i>By Dividends and Interest</i>				40	0	10
				£815	11	1

PERCY H. WEBB, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

HENRY GARSIDE, }
WILLIAM GILBERT, } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 15, 1928.

The Reports of the Council and of the Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

Mr. Percy H. Webb, Treasurer, then presented the Society's Medal to the President, and said :

Mr. President,

No more pleasant duty has ever fallen to the Treasurer of this Society, than that which I have to perform to-night. In the absence of my much more competent superiors, the Vice-Presidents, I have to present to you, Sir Charles Oman, the medal of this society.

Your first claim to that honour rests upon your numismatic knowledge and the excellent papers which have formed part of the means whereby you have communicated that knowledge to the students of our science.

We have followed you through the pages of the Roman Army list, and traced with you the Decline and Fall of the Denarius, we have studied with you the coinage of Corinth, of various periods in the third century, and of some Anglo-Saxon periods. We have travelled with you more than once to Syria and the East.

Your papers are always lucid and illuminating, and have at least one quality which some of us perhaps fail to achieve : they are always pleasant and easy reading.

Though you may have confined your writing to comparatively few branches of the science, we have heard your informative comments on many papers and exhibitions which dealt with other and very widespread series of coins. Eastern, medieval, German, Italian, British, and English subjects, all proved to be within the range of your knowledge, and still the wonder grew that one small head could carry all you knew.

But there are other grounds on which the Society is right in coming to its decision in this matter.

The justification for its existence is not that its Fellows are collectors of coins, but that they are earnest searchers for such knowledge as is enshrined in those coins, the most copious remains of our ancestors and the peoples that have

gone before them. Our business is the interpretation of those remains, and the addition of the facts so obtained to the sum of human knowledge. Our science is the handmaid of history, and ever, as we sit at our work, we must have the written history of our period at our side, so that we may comprehend what we learn, and truly fit our new materials into the great structure which the historians have built.

Therefore it is right for us to honour not only your important services to numismatic science, but your infinitely more eminent ones to the greater science of which you are the foremost living British exponent. It is particularly fit that we should do so, because you, of all historians, have most freely acknowledged the important help which coins can give.

Those are the grounds, and the only grounds, on which the Society is justified in arriving at its decision, but I think perhaps we had another consideration in our minds which tended to make that decision a very pleasant one to us. You have presided over us with such kindness and courtesy, that we one and all feel that you have admitted us to the status of personal friends. We know that nothing gives you greater pleasure than the extension of a helping hand to us in our studies, and, in addition to the respect and honour in which we hold your great achievements, historical and numismatic, we feel for you a very warm affection.

In the name and on behalf of the Royal Numismatic Society, I have the honour to present to you its medal—*Optime merenti*.

Sir Charles Oman replied:

It is now forty-one years since a President of this Society had the honour of receiving its medal—which can only be given to a member of Council by the unanimous vote of his colleagues. This conjuncture only occurred once before, when Sir John Evans was thus honoured in 1887, in the middle term of his golden reign over us, which lasted twenty years more. I feel modest indeed when I reflect on the difference that there has been between my great predecessor's

services to the Society and my own very moderate record. His published articles in the *Journal* exceed my own in number, even as his magnificent collections surpassed four-fold my own small gatherings. And his scope in numismatic survey extended far beyond my own, for he was not only a master of Roman Greek and English coin-lore, but compiled the manual on Early British issues which still remains the standard work on those weird if interesting objects. I feel that in numismatics, as in most other fields of literature and art, we of the twentieth century are but the Epigoni of an older and a greater generation.

All that I can plead in justification of my occupation of your presidential chair, is that I have been a very loyal member of the Society for a great number of years. I joined it in 1882, when I was still an undergraduate of New College, and had just reached my twenty-first birthday. And my first modest publication in the *Journal* goes back to 1888, when I recorded a new type of Carausius, which had just come into my hands, so that I may claim to have been a contributor for just forty years to its invaluable pages. I look round with regret to see how few survive of the members who were at work when I first joined the Society—only (I think) Sir Arthur Evans and Professor Percy Gardner, Colonel Morrieson, Mr. R. Lloyd-Kenyon, Mr. Drummond Robertson, Colonel Milo Talbot—Herbert Grueber has just passed away. Even such veterans as Mr. Lawrence and the Treasurer are my juniors in membership. Seniority is a poor plea in itself, but, perhaps, better than none.

The Society owes little enough to me—but I have an immense debt to the Society already, before this medal comes to be added to it. I refer not only to many pleasant evenings spent at our meetings, which during the five years of the Great War were the only relaxations that I obtained in a time of dire mental stress and unceasing desk-work, but to other more spiritual obligations. Members of the Society—more especially those of the British Museum coin-room, were my nursing-fathers in numismatic study. I am rather ashamed to think how many hours I wasted for

Dr. Poole, Dr. Head, and Professor Percy Gardner when I was learning the elements. The last-named was my most kindly examiner when I offered Greek Numismatics in the final Honour School at Oxford, being (I believe) the first man who dared to obtrude on the University a study which the old pure classical scholars conceived to be not quite so serious a matter as textual emendation or grammatical criticism. Numismatics now play a much greater part in the construction of history than they did in 1882—and that this is so comes, I think, entirely from the labours of those who have from time to time filled the ranks of our Society. We have knocked out a few old errors, and filled in a certain amount of gaps. Who, for example, would now dare to write about the Viking invasions, or the Greek kingdoms of the Far East, without calling in numismatic aid? Our study bulks large in the category of original authorities now-a-days! It is our duty to see that we continue to be archaeologists, and do not drop into being mere collectors—as were some of our predecessors. Otherwise we merit a part of the castigation due to those who try to write history without numismatic knowledge, and make awful blunders, like the gentleman exposed by Dr. Hill in the last number of our Journal.

In my own modest way I represent the historians who try to illustrate history from numismatic record wherever possible—and when I take your medal I take it in behalf of a whole school of workers, not merely as an individual—if a very senior—member of our much-loved institution.

The President then delivered the following address :

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

FOR several years since the War your President has had to deplore the gradual shrinkage in the membership of the Society—which like almost every other institution felt the stress of post-bellum lassitude. I am, therefore, specially glad to be able to inform my colleagues that for the first time

since 1920 our total numbers show an increase instead of a decrease. We have lost four members by death, two by resignation, both figures below the average, and we have recruited nine new colleagues by election. This is only a net gain of three, making us 268 to-day as against 265 in June 1927. But a gain of three is a very much more cheerful phenomenon than a fall of 12—7—5 or 11, such as I have had to report in recent years. Let us hope that our membership may ere long go back to the old pre-war maximum of 318, which we attained in the peaceful times of 1912. There are still intelligent collectors in the country who ought to be of our number, and who would find healthy *pabulum* in our Journal, whom our propaganda has not reached. Let me implore all members, who have numismatic friends that are something more than coin-collectors, to impress on the eligible candidate the benefits—social no less than intellectual—that he would obtain by joining our ranks, and occasionally presenting himself at our not uninteresting Thursday gatherings.

Our obituary list is, fortunately, not so heavy as in several recent years, but includes one name very familiar to all members of the Society—one of those workers in the coin-room of the British Museum who took their share in that great series of Catalogues which is the glory of modern English numismatics. I allude, of course, to Mr. Herbert Grueber—a name connected with that long roll of volumes from the publication of his *Roman Medallions* in 1874 to the magnificent three-volume *Coins of the Roman Republic* issued in 1910, the last and most important of his books. For nearly fifty years he worked at numismatic subjects of all classes—his knowledge extended even to Oriental coins. He was a frequent and valuable contributor to our Journal, and served the Society in almost every office—Member of Council—Secretary—Vice-President and Editor. His life was prolonged to the broad span of eighty-two years—the last fifteen spent in retirement in the Isle of Wight. But his goodwill to our institution was shown quite recently, when he once or twice favoured us with a visit at one of our

monthly meetings, when he chanced to be on one of his rare visits to London.

The other three members whose loss we deplore are, firstly, Mr. Robert Allatini, the owner of a very fine collection of Greek coins. His widow has deposited two of them of special beauty as a permanent loan to the British Museum; one a magnificent Syracusan decadrachm, the other a superb tetradrachm of Amphipolis, with the facing head of Apollo. The rest of his collection is, I believe, to be sold at Geneva at no very distant date. I do not think that he ever visited Russell Square or contributed to the *Journal*, though he had been a member since 1907, but we were all aware of his work as a novelist and of his fine taste in numismatics.

Mr. W. H. Valentine, on the other hand, was a very loyal attendant at our meetings, and much liked by all who met him. He produced two works on dark corners of numismatics, which testify to his widespread interests—one on the Sassanian coinage, the other on the copper coinage of Muhammadan India. Collectors of these series, who are not numerous, owe special thanks to one who worked for them, and won little notice for what was most meritorious exploration.

Of Mr. Ferris P. Merritt of New York I have unfortunately no personal knowledge—he was a young American collector who only joined the Society in 1924.

After dealing with an obituary list which is fortunately short, I may pass on to the general fortunes of the Society. And first and foremost I must congratulate the Editors on having produced a yearly volume of the *Journal* up to the old standard in size—397 pages of text, with 42 more of *Proceedings*. This brings us back to the dimensions of happy pre-war days, and removes the memory of the slim volumes of 1921-2, &c., when we sometimes got only 250 pages of text. Quality was never wanting in the material. I am glad to see that we are now getting quantity also—though regularity of publication is still leaving something to be desired. We have not yet, in the end of June, received the first number

for 1928. But who would be an editor! Contributors, as I know, are most irresponsible and dilatory beings.

The numismatic event of the year, so far as Great Britain is concerned, was the appearance—so long desired and so long delayed—of a complete new set of our 'Silver' pieces, from the crown down to the threepenny piece. A certain amount of specimens, struck with special care and bearing the date 1927, were sold in complete series by the Mint. But the real public issue only commenced after the New Year; and the coins which are now drifting into circulation will bear the figures 1928. I imagine that practically all the specimen sets with the earlier date have gone into collections, or at least are being treasured up by the donees, young and old, to whom they were presented by the original buyers. I am told on good authority that no less than 14,000 of the sets were sold, which at the premium placed upon them must have given an appreciable benefit to His Majesty's revenue.

The criticisms on the art of the new issue have been severe, but no one (I think) will say that, taken as a whole, they are not an improvement on the types of the 1911 series. For my own part I consider the crown piece the best of the lot; it lacks Pistrucci's much regretted St. George, which made such a handsome reverse for the five shillings of George IV and Victoria. But the large imperial crown in its bushy garland of roses and thistles is, I think, a good type in itself. And all numismatists owe a special meed of thanks to our genial member the Deputy Master of the Mint, to whose persuasion its issue was mainly due. The banks looked askance at it, but collectors have been indenting for it with glee at the Bank of England, in order to complete their sets of British crowns, which go back in a majestic and unbroken series to Elizabeth. This is no unworthy successor to its great ancestors. Those who want a crown will probably have to go in person to the Bank of England, as I did. For one's local bank shows no alacrity in procuring specimens.

Of the other denominations the sixpenny and threepenny pieces are the most severely criticized, mainly for their want

of a central "motive". I think that it cannot be denied that the butt-ends of the twisted oak-twigs on both the pieces form a bad centre-point. And the letters expressing the values are tucked in among the leaves in such an unobtrusive fashion that the first glance of the eye does not catch them at all, and on a more careful inspection the inscription seems patchy and not continuous; I should have much preferred that the twigs and acorns should have been twisted into a broad garland, leaving a central space in which the value might have appeared—much as in the old Victorian threepenny piece.

The metal of the new coinage remains at the unsatisfactory 50 per cent. alloy standard introduced in 1921. It remains to be seen whether, after three years of wear, the new issue may not show the unsightly blotches of inferior metal on the royal cheeks and hair, which now show up so unsatisfactorily on all the issues of 1922-7. I trust some new alloy may have been discovered by now, which may not betray itself in similar fashion. But how much better it would have been to revert to the old purity of homogeneous silver! The gain on surplus bullion from withdrawn Victorian money, which can be sold at market price, is infinitesimal, now that silver is down to 27 pence the ounce. While in Italy and Austria last spring and autumn, I noted that the new coinage of each of those States was of good silver, and will stand any amount of wear. The new Italian 20 lire piece, with Rome crowned by the Fascist-warrior on the reverse, is a large very handsome coin, recalling the 5 franc pieces of old days—though I cannot admire the treatment of King Victor Emmanuel's head on the obverse.

The Society has held its normal series of meetings this year—I regret that at three of them I was not able to be present, owing to urgent Parliamentary duty. At the seven when I was able to attend, the papers (or in one case the exhibition) were certainly well up to the average of past years. I noted among the exhibitions some very striking items, particularly the collection of Charles II badges and medals shown by Miss Farquhar. Mr. Assheton's extra-

ordinary penny of Ceolwulf II of Mercia, with the type of the two seated sovereigns, is almost unique, and so (I think) is Mr. Baldwin's variety of the "Three Brothers" coin of Carausius where the inscription seems to me quite a new discovery. Nor had I ever seen the strange Mormon gold coins of 1849, with the "Eye of the Lord", shown by Messrs. Spink, which caused so much wrath to the Mint Department of the United States. Other pieces of high interest I must not tarry to recapitulate, or my screed would grow too long.

Passing on to the papers read to the Society during the session of 1927-8, I find that (oddly enough) there was not a single paper read on any department of the Greek series, which generally bulks large in our proceedings. We still await the contribution on acquisitions to the British Museum in the last twelvemonth, which the Keeper of the Coins is generally good enough to give us—it will no doubt come in due course. But this session has been particularly fertile in dissertations on the English series, including an elaborate paper by Mr. Brooke on the first coinage of Henry II, the so-called "Tealby type" series. Probably the almost universal mis-striking of this long issue, of which a penny legible on each side in every letter is a great rarity, accounts for its neglect by numismatists. Mr. Brooke has now shown us how to classify these unsightly emissions, mainly by a careful study of the sequence of moneyers' names in the several mints. They fall into three well-marked groups, the first and the last more numerous than the transitional class in the middle.

Of no less importance was Mr. Shirley Fox's paper on the silver coinage of Edward III between 1344 and 1351—the pence and half-pence generally known as the "florin type" money, from the details in its execution which recall the gold florin struck in the first-named of these years, the rarest of English gold coins. The mints in operation were London, York, Canterbury, Durham, and the abnormal short-lived Reading, whose coins with the scallop-shell mint-mark are excessively rare. They owe their origin to a grant

running as far back as the time of Henry I, but the abbots had only the privilege of getting the profits of one moneyer in the mint of London till the time of Edward III; so that coins actually struck at Reading are confined to two short periods in this king's reign. They are, therefore, notably scarce. The arrangement of the sequence of the florin-type pence, shown by variations in the shape of letters or the form of the king's bust, is much helped by the study of the episcopal, alternating with the "sede vacante", pence of the mint of Durham.

Your president's contribution to early English numismatics was a paper dealing with the curious type of two seated emperors, obviously copied from the late Roman *solidi* of the fourth century, which is to be found on coins of Ceolwulf II of Mercia, Alfred, and the Viking invader Halfdene. I tried to demonstrate that the type was not a chance imitation of a device which had become meaningless, but a deliberate celebration of certain treaties between 872 and 878 between those rulers. On the validity of the thesis critics may make up their minds, when they have the paper before them in print.

Lastly, in the English sphere, we have a note by Miss Farquhar on a lost issue of Civil War coins of 1646-7. She has found a document proving that when Charles II was in Jersey, the last fragment of his father's dominions which the Parliamentary party had not occupied, a certain Colonel Smyth started a mint in that Channel Isle, at which he was authorized to strike a gold sovereign and half-crowns and shillings in silver. Whether he actually issued all the denominations does not appear, but certainly some pieces were put out, for the prince's council declared them to be "light" and "adulterate" and condemned them. The reverse—presumably of the half-crown—is said to have shown "harps, roses, and fillets". No such pieces have ever been seen, but the document seems to vouch for their existence, and it is clear that a search ought to be made among all badly struck Charles I silver, to see whether some of the pieces attributed to the unidentified local mints may not represent this Jersey money.

Roman numismatics are represented among our communications at the monthly meetings by Mr. Mattingly's sketch of the coinage of Septimius Severus and his rivals, during the temporary partition of the Empire after the murder of Pertinax in A. D. 193, which did not finally end till Clodius Albinus had been put down by Severus in 197. The period therefore embraced four years. The most abnormal pieces of the time are the coins of Pescennius Niger, who held Syria and Asia Minor for some two years, and issued at Antioch denarii of a peculiar oriental style with types and inscriptions, in some cases, not used by any other emperor—such as **INVICTO IMP TROPAEA** round a trophy, **SPEI FIRMAE, VICTORIA IVSTI AVG** (he had assumed the name of Justus), and **IOVI PRAE ORBIS**. They are generally rude and unpleasing in style; but the very rare gold aurei are (as usual) made superior in art to the silver. Of Clodius Albinus the commoner denarii, those which give him the title of Caesar only, seem, as Mr. Mattingly holds, to have been struck at the Roman mint, for Severus acknowledged Albinus as his junior colleague until he had made an end of Pescennius. None were apparently struck at any Gallic or British mint in the provinces which he held for the first three years of his reign. Only when he had broken with Severus, and had declared himself Augustus, did he open the long-closed mint of Lugdunum. The denarii struck there, with the Augustan title, are decidedly different in style from the Caesarian pieces, and much inferior. No bronze at all would seem to have been struck during the year of the war with Severus, as all the known pieces have the title of Caesar only, and show the style of the Roman mint. The one really interesting coin of Albinus' last days is the denarius with **GENIVS LVGDVNI**, the genius of the mint-city standing, with a sceptre and a cornucopia.

My own small addition to Roman numismatics this year was a paper on an unpublished silver coin (of the so-called Antoninianus size) of Valerian I, with the reverse of a flaming altar and the inscription **CONSECRATIO**. The interest of this piece is that both historians and numismatic writers

have hitherto spoken of the callous way in which Gallienus ignored the death of his unfortunate father, a prisoner in a Persian dungeon after his disastrous defeat in Mesopotamia. It looks as if this 'consecrating' coin testifies to more proper feeling on the part of his son than we had been led to expect. So it has historical interest.

It is long since we have had a paper on Oriental numismatics read before the Society, and I must make special mention of one contributed last December by Mr. R. B. Whitehead on the Zodiacal and Portrait coins of the Mogul Emperor Jehangir. These strange aberrations from normal Mohammedan coin types provoked interest both in India and among European travellers, and Mr. Whitehead has collected some interesting contemporary allusions to them. The art and the details of the gold and silver series were described, with particular notes on the portrait-coins, things absolutely unknown among other Eastern sovereigns. The striking of such pieces illustrates Jehangir's peculiar character and religious views, and Mr. Whitehead gave reasons for thinking that the traditional tale of the influence of the emperor's favourite Mir Jehan on the choice of this type is not without historical foundation. This paper should interest all numismatists, as the Zodiacal rupees and mohurs are about the only Mogul coins to which many English collectors have been attracted, by their unique character.

So much for the papers that we have heard. I have also to make mention of contributions that have appeared in the Journal, since I last gave you my annual summary in June 1927.

They include, to start at the logical beginning, in the Greek line a paper by Mr. E. S. Robinson on some particularly beautiful coins of Thurii, from the collection of the Marquis Ginori, including one of the scarce tetradrachms of the finest style. In Roman numismatics the Treasurer and Mr. Mattingly continue their amicable dispute about the famous recoinage of Aurelian, no doubt a *restitutor monetæ*—but in what sense? Mr. Mattingly thinks that the large silvered bronze coins with XX•I in the exergue

were nominally double sesteratii, or pieces of twenty libellae, Mr. Webb holds that they are an attempt to restore in currency value—as they do in general appearance—the large base silver coins—generally called Antoniniani but probably wrongly so designated—which started with Caracalla, and ran into miserable decay under Gallienus and Postumus. He would attribute the general change in all names and denominations to the time of Diocletian rather than to that of Aurelian. When doctors disagree, only the specialist dare express his adherence to one or the other theory. There is still plenty of material for argument of a friendly sort.

Cavaliere Laffranchi, though not one of our members, is interested in Romano-British coins, and sends us an article on the issues of the mint of London during the joint reigns of Diocletian and Maximian as Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius as Caesars. He is set on refuting certain heresies of Doctor Voetter, who would like to continue the mint of Camulodunum—so active under Carausius—into the times of the Tetrarchy that followed. He removes to Lugdunum a certain amount of coins attributed by some to London, but leaves us still a long series—including all that curious series of *folles* without a mint-mark, with a small head and a short neck somewhat resembling the British portraits of Carausius, which no doubt the same workmen had engraved ten years before. Mr. Salisbury's most important deductions from the Richborough excavations appear in this year's Journal—but they were read during last year's session, and so I reluctantly have to omit them in this annual sketch.

I suppose that early British coins must be considered to belong to the English series—historically this is absurd, but not less absurd than to rank them as appertaining to either the Greek or the Roman department—though their types were derived from a Greek original, and though some of them were struck as late as the invasions of Britain by Caesar or Claudius. This being so, it is here that I must make mention of the interesting paper by Mr. Brooke on two finds of early British gold staters in 1927, both, by an

extraordinary coincidence, found in hollow "chunks" of flint, which two separate hoarders, the one at Westerham in Kent, the other at Chute in Wiltshire, had used as money-boxes. The former contained fifteen coins (three of which were Gaulish), the other sixty-five coins. That the Chute coins were of a later age would seem to be indicated by the fact that they were very strongly alloyed—less than half the contents of each coin was pure gold, while in the Westerham pieces the gold constituted nearly 70 per cent. of the metal.

Mr. Gilbert gave us two contributions on English seventeenth-century tokens, in which he published no less than 350 half-pence and farthings which had escaped Boyne and Williamson. They come from every corner of England, but London of course predominates in the list, over 200 of the pieces belonging to the metropolis. There are some curious square, heart-shaped, and octagonal pieces among them, and some of the devices are artistic as well as original.

Papers of some length, outside the Greek, Roman, and English series, were contributed by our foreign collaborators—Colonel Allotte de la Fuye giving us one on degraded copies of the coinage of the Sassanian king Bahram V, struck at Merv, some apparently as early as the fifth century, others after the Arab conquest in the seventh. They are strange barbarous coins, and contrast markedly with the illustrations in our other paper of foreign origin—one by Signor Giuseppe Castellani on the Renaissance mint of the ephemeral lordship of Pesaro, where the lords of the house of Sforza struck handsome ducats and testoons, with their portraits and arms, and the figure of St. Paul.

We have short notices, mainly by members of the British Museum coin-room staff, on the hoards which have come to hand during the past session. As is so often the case, a large proportion belonged to the time of the great Civil War of King and Parliament, stopping dead at Charles I. One large find, however, that from Stedham of 414 pieces, ranged from Mary to Charles II, but only included of the last-named king nine coins of the hammered issue of his first

three years, so that it was evidently buried in 1662-3, as no milled money was included in it. The two Roman hoards described (both oddly enough from Somersetshire, which is so rich in coin finds of the Empire) consisted mainly of third-century money. The large Clapton-in-Gordano discovery had no less than 3,438 pieces in it, ranging from Gallienus to Diocletian. Those of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, and the two Tetrici predominated—these five accounting for more than 2,500 coins between them. But the interesting thing in the collection was to find that although there were three coins of Diocletian there were none of Carausius. Clearly, then, before Carausius commenced his insurrection there had been months enough to allow of coins of Diocletian drifting in from Continental mints. The coins from Clevedon look more like the droppings of centuries on an occupied site than a hoard, as they include pieces of Gordian III at one end and Constans at the other. Money of two such different ages is never found together.

It has been usual at our annual meetings to compliment those of our members who have published numismatic works other than their contributions to the *Journal*. I must this year congratulate Mr. Webb on his production of Vol. V of Messrs. Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage*—whose completion we all desire with (I may say) eager impatience, for it is invaluable. Also Mr. Mattingly *solus* on his *Manual of Roman Coins*, the first effort of the kind in English, a most solid and all-embracing work, beautifully illustrated. It contains a marvellous amount of information for its bulk—no single volume could possibly give more. And it is an absolutely necessary addition to the book-shelf of every collector of Roman coins. Let every member who has not already purchased a copy go out to-morrow and procure one without delay. I see also that Dr. Hill has produced an important illustrated volume on Greek coins of outstanding artistic merit, entitled *Select Greek Coins* published by Van Oest, Paris. The best Greek coins bear enlargement in scale in an extraordi-

narily satisfactory way—would that we could say as much of the production of modern mints—British or Foreign.

So much for the past year—it ends auspiciously with the first public dinner of the Society—at which I am rejoiced to hear that more than forty members are to be present.

Col. H. W. Morrieson proposed and Mr. William Gilbert seconded a vote of thanks to the President for his address.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1928-9 as follows:—

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The President proposed a vote of thanks to the scrutineers and auditors and adjourned the Society till Oct. 18.

In the evening a dinner was held in the Holborn Restaurant, at which Sir Charles Oman presided over a gathering of forty. A message of loyal greeting was sent to His Majesty the King, Patron of the Society, and the following telegram received in reply.

SIR CHARLES OMAN,

President, Royal Numismatic Society,
22 Russell Square.

I am commanded to express the best thanks of the King to the Royal Numismatic Society for their message of loyal greetings and to wish them a pleasant evening together.

Equerry.



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